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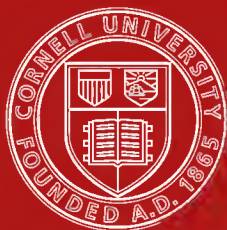
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SHAKESPEARE STUDIES

BY

MEMBERS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

TO COMMEMORATE THE THREE-HUNDREDTH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,
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SHAKESPEARE STUDIES

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SONNETS ON THE SELF OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

They say that such thy selflessness in giving
Selves to thy creatures and rich everydays,
Thy self escapes us, whilst *those* selves be living,—
They say, and saying do intend thy praise.
Not so. Thou Life—most life, begetting life—
So gav'st thy lineaments to king and clown,
Thy pitch of voice, thy bent at love or strife,
Thy tricks of walking, or of sitting down,
That were some guest who knew thy progeny
Met at the Mermaid with thy band and Ben,
He'd know the corner-chair that compassed thee,
And name the Shakespeare of those merry men,
Even had he never seen thy pictured dust—
The folio's graven brass, the Stratford bust.

Or turn it round: what man of wit and worth,
Practiced in hearts and heads, if he should meet.
Some of thy offspring (known to all the earth)
Unknown, unsired, upon some Noman's street,
Could not contrive the lineage, could not find
In tragic hero with the poet's eye,
In jester with the analytic mind,
Something for sure to name his father by;
In lover, madman, maiden, something there
Of fancy delicate, or passion free,
Not even in thy next of kin, Molière,
Involved in thy inveterate irony,
Proclaiming more than blazon highest hung
The great progenitor from whence they sprung.

Self is the origin and end of art,
'Tis but the symbol varies: each will tell
His goal of mind, his plenitude of heart,
What might befall him, or before befell.
Some speak the naked words, "I love, I hate;"
Some as a lark surmount the setting sun;
Some pour themselves in story or debate;
But lyric, epic, drama, all are one.
And thou art mightier, more manifest 51
Than all the others, having multiplied
Thyself in thought, in love, in rage, in jest,
In all conditions, more than all beside:
And yet that more of thee is so much more,
We least can measure, where we most adore.

But thy humanity is so much ours,
Such of our little is in thy so-vast,
That love and kinship in essential powers
Give adoration a familiar cast.
There is in Aeschylus too much of sky,
Of doom, of thunder, god, and precipice;
Too much of Hell in Dante's awful eye,
Despite its visioning of Beatrice:
But thou, if thou transcend us, still art here;
If prophecy, an earthly prophecy;  
A far To-morrow, a To-day how near;
Thy sole self now, but all mankind to-be.
And all the best the world's best artists reach,
We measure by thy stature and thy speech.

Near, but not common. When the times-to-come
Shall breed a race, with eye as quick and wide
To see each shape and hue and trace it home,
Each motion, whence engendered, how applied;
A race that looks with thy inerrant ken
Each object through, beyond its rags and robes,
And, having worked, will go to work again,
And, having probed the world, forever probes;
A race with memory for all behind,
With hope to all ahead; a race where each
Contains his fellow, mind surrounding mind;
Born to thy incommunicable speech:
Then shalt thou common be, with joys and tears,—
Obscured amid the sanity of peers.

Musing by night on thee, this fancy came:
Suppose the earth were blasted to a rind,
Shent too of waters, winds, and heavenly flame,
It could be clothed and peopled from thy mind:
What hills and woods, and under what a sun!
What streams and seas, and what a fair moon
under!
What prodigality of flowers begun,
What winds recruited, what revived thunder!
What birds would sing, and to what maiden vows;
What hounds would hunt, and with what hunter's
horn;
What thatched roofs, what towns, what masted
prows;
What merchants, rogues, and kings, and dames,
re-born!
An earth so furnished, filled with such an host,
The gods would scarce lament the one they lost.

Indeed, 'twere goodlier to deities
Than earth as now; familiars would they meet
On bosky islands, under moony trees,
Spirits of iris wing and fairy feet;
And, finding entertainment from mankind
Less niggard than when now to earth they come,
Finding more dancers in the May-morn wind,
More singing goodmen at the harvest-home,
More awe at bridal, burial, they would then
Revisit oftener than now the streams
And myriad villages of mortal men,
And oft'ner send their services and dreams.
Nor would they mourn such engin'ry of strife
As now most keeps them rearward of our life.

Three centuries 'tis since Ben, thy comrade, swore
Thou wert not of an age but for all time;
New states have risen, old have gone before;
New knowledge come, and poets with new rhyme.
But thou abidest through all change the same,—
Nay, not the same; such thy mysterious growth,
Thy self increaseth with increasing fame,
And three large centuries are increased by both.
Thy heart and head have been communicated
To millions, who were after blent with thee;
Thy voice, in hundred languages translated,
Takes on a blending with the wind and sea.
Thou art so great that thou wilt not despise
This book we've wrought thee under alien skies.

LOCRINE AND SELIMUS

FRANK G. HUBBARD

The chronology of the English drama between 1585 and 1595 is a tangled web, which has thus far failed to yield, to any great extent, to the efforts of investigators. Many attempts have been made to determine the dates of individual plays, but generally the result reached is either too indefinite, or based upon too slight evidence, to be of much value. The importance of accurate chronology here can hardly be overestimated, for it is within the period of these ten years, 1585–1595, that the English drama passes through a development marvelous in its rapidity. It advances from the crudity of *The Spanish Tragedy* to the strength and beauty of Greene's *James IV* and Marlowe's *Edward II*; it develops from rough, crude power to perfection of form.

In the case of any one of the dramatists whom we call the predecessors of Shakespeare, there is very little external evidence for the order of his plays; generally speaking, the best that can be done is to arrange them in the order that seems to be demanded by what we suppose to be the natural

course of development of the writer's dramatic power. And here comes in a rather disturbing element. The development of dramatic writing is proceeding so rapidly that a playwright's style and method seldom appear the same in two of his plays. One who has forced his way through the crudities of *Alphonsus of Arragon* finds that his ideas of Greene's dramatic style are all upset when he reads *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*; and further, when he has enjoyed the delicate beauty of *James IV*, he is inclined to doubt the fact of Greene's authorship. The same is true, but in a less degree, of the other dramatists under consideration. There seems often to be more likeness between two plays of different authors than between the individual works of either of them. Any statement, therefore, that a particular characteristic belongs to Greene's style, or Peele's style, or even Marlowe's style can in general hold good for only one or, at most, two plays of the author in question.

We have in this period a large number of anonymous plays, some of which (for example, *Edward III*) are as good as the best work of known authors, and all of which are of much interest and significance from the standpoint of dramatic history. Much has been written concerning their authorship and relation to other plays, but with little definite result. It is my object in this paper to discuss the relation of two of these anonymous plays, *Locrine* and *Selimus*.

Locrine was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1594 and published in 1595 as "Newly set forth,

overseene and corrected by W. S.” This statement caused it to be attributed to Shakespeare, and it is one of the six plays added to the Third and Fourth Folios. Its theme, taken from early British legendary history, has been treated many times in English literature, most recently by Swinburne¹. The play has strongly marked Senecan characteristics, including a ghost that cries “Vindicta!”; the material is cast in the form of a double revenge action. The diction is very stilted and artificial; classical references and allusions abound on every page; extravagant ranting speech is not wanting. There are some good comic scenes. It is generally agreed that the play was written some years before publication but later than *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Tamburlaine*.

Selimus was published in 1594. The first part of its very long title reads *The First part of the Tragical raigne of Selimus, sometime emperour of the Turkes*. It is a tragedy in the style of *Tamburlaine*, which it seems to imitate. The hero is ambitious, cruel, remorseless, making his way to the throne by bloody deeds of all sorts. In the course of the play eyes are put out and hands are cut off; men are poisoned; one character is thrown from a tower upon the points of a circle of spears; strangling is a most commonplace way of putting an end to enemies. There are bashaws and janissaries in plenty and all the other accompaniments of a supposed Turkish court.

¹ Cf. Theodor Erbe, *Die Locrinesage und die Quellen des Pseudo-Shakespearschen Locrine*, *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, XVI.

Locrine was translated by Tieck and published in his *Altenglisches Theater* in 1811. He regarded it as an early work of Shakespeare and called attention to the fact that one passage is written in the stanza form used in *Venus and Adonis*. In his copy of the Third Folio he left marginal notes indicating that passages of *Locrine* had been borrowed from Spenser's *Complaints*, published in 1591. Tieck's material was published by Rudolph Brotanek in 1900.¹ Charles Crawford in 1901 re-discovered these borrowings from Spenser, and also called attention to the fact that there are many correspondences between *Locrine* and *Selimus*, and that some of these involve the passages borrowed from Spenser's *Complaints*.² His inference from the evidence brought forward is, that *Locrine* borrows from *Selimus*. Some years ago I studied these plays in connection with another matter, and later came to the conclusion that *Selimus* borrows from *Locrine*, just the reverse of Crawford's conclusion. Shortly after this the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 1905, came into my hand; in this I found an article by E. Koeppel, "*Locrine*" und "*Selimus*,"³ in which he reaches the conclusion that *Selimus* borrows from *Locrine* on grounds somewhat smaller than those that had led me to the same conclusion. I later communicated the results of my investiga-

¹ *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, 11, 202 ff.

² *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, Vol. 7. Correspondences between *Locrine* and *Selimus* were noted by P. A. Daniel in the *Athenaeum* April 16, 1898, p. 512, but he published no material. Cf. Crawford *Collectanea*, I, 99-100.

³ Vol. XLI, 193-200.

tion to Professor J. W. Cunliffe, who has set them forth in his chapter on *Early English Tragedy* in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*.¹

Let us consider now the evidence that shows that *Selimus* borrows from *Locrine*. The first point is concerned with the comic scenes of the plays.

In *Locrine*, Act IV, Sc. II,² Humber, in a starving condition, is crying out for food.

This fruitless soyle, this ground, brings forth no meat.
The gods, hard harted gods, yeld me no meat.

Strumbo, the chief comic character of the play, enters, and describes in a coarse, humorous way his experience with his termagant wife. He sits down to eat and is discovered by the starving Humber, who demands food. Strumbo is about to comply with his demand, when his hand is struck by the ghost of Albanact (whom Humber has slain), and the scene closes with a speech by the ghost.

In *Selimus*, ll. 1873–1997,³ we have a scene, in which Bullithrumbly, a shepherd, enters and describes in a humorous speech his experience with his shrewish wife. Enter Corcut and his page, who have been starving for two days. They persuade the shepherd to relieve their hunger.

The correspondence between the two scenes was noted by Charles Crawford in *Notes and Queries*,

¹ Vol. V, 95–98.

² IV, II, 18–19. References are to *The Shakespearè Apocrypha*, edited by C. F. Tucker Brooke. Oxford, 1908.

³ References are to Grosart's edition, in *The Temple Dramatists*, London, 1898.

1901,¹ who infers from it that *Locrine* copies *Selimus*. E. Koeppel, in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 1905, also notes this correspondence of scenes, but his inference is that Bullithrumble in *Selimus* is a weak copy of Strumbo in *Locrine*.² He notes also that the scene in *Selimus* is the only bit of the comic in that play.

Before seeing Koeppel's article I had arrived at the same conclusion, mainly on the ground that the comic character in *Selimus* appears only at this one place, whereas in *Locrine* Strumbo is a comic character who appears all through the earlier parts of the play, and his speech and action in the scene under consideration are consistent with his speech and action in the earlier comic scenes of the play. It is almost impossible to conceive that the author of *Locrine* developed the character Strumbo from the hints given in this scene of *Selimus*, but it is perfectly natural to infer that the author of *Selimus* copied a part of one of the comic scenes of *Locrine* that suited his dramatic purpose.

But much stronger proof that *Selimus* borrows from *Locrine* can be drawn from a consideration of the material in the two plays that has been taken from Spenser's *Complaints*. There is much more of this material in *Locrine* than in *Selimus*, and a careful examination of the passages in ques-

¹ Ninth Series, Vol. 7, p. 102 (Collectanea 1, 58-9). Crawford's article, Edmund Spenser, "*Locrine*," and "*Selimus*," has been reprinted in his *Collectanea*, Vol. I pp. 47-100. My references to Crawford are to this reprint.

² "Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass der Pantoffelheld Bullithrumble eine schwächliche Kopie des mannhaften Schusters ist." *Jahrbuch* XLI, 196.

tion reveals the fact that *Selimus* has nothing from the *Complaints* (with the possible exception of a single line¹) that is not found in *Locrine*, although *Selimus* draws freely from *The Faerie Queene*, from which *Locrine* takes nothing.² But more than this. In one passage, made up mostly of lines borrowed from Spenser, the author of *Locrine* (if he has not taken them from *Selimus*) has inserted lines of his own. The lines borrowed from Spenser are from two passages, not far apart, in the *Ruines of Rome* (ll 150-162, 211-216). Now *Selimus* has eight of these *Locrine* lines, three of which are Spenser's and five original with *Locrine* (or *Selimus*). But *Selimus* has them in two different places far apart, (ll. 419-20, ll. 2433-38), and the second passage (2433-38) is made up of one line from Spenser and five original with *Locrine* (or *Selimus*); in *Locrine* all the lines under consideration occur in one connected passage, II, iv, 1-18. To make the matter plainer I give below the passages from *Locrine*, *Selimus*, and *Ruines of Rome*.³

Hum. How bravely this yoong Brittain, Albanact,

*Darteth abroad the thunderbolts of warre,

*Beating downe millions with his furious moode,

*And in his glorie triumphs over all,

¹ As those old earth-bred brethren, which once
Sel. 2432.

Like as whilome the children of the earth
Ruines of Rome, 155.

Which whilom did those earth born brethren blinde
Ruines of Rome, 140.

² Cf. Crawford, p. 59.

³ The lines of *Locrine* taken from *Ruines of Rome* are indicated by the asterisk.

*Mowing [text, *mouing*] the massie squadrons off [text, *squadranfts of*] the ground:

*Heaps hills on hills, to scale the starrie skie,
As when Briareus, armed with an hundreth hands,
Floong forth an hundreth mountains at great Ioue,
And when the monstrous giant Monichus
Hurld Mount Olimpus at great Mars his targe,
And shot huge cedars at Minerua's shield.
How doth he ouerlooke with hautie front
My fleeting hostes, and lifts his loftie face
Against vs all that now do feare his force,

*Like as we see the wrathfull sea from farre,

*In a great mountaine heapt, with hideous noise,

*With thousand billows beat against the ships,

*And tosse them in the waues like tennis balls.

Lochrine, II, v, 1-18.

\ I'd dart abroad the thunderbolts of war,

* And mow their heartless squadrons to the ground.

Selimus, 419-20.

Were they as mighty and as fell of force
As those old earth-bred brethren, which once
Heap'd hill on hill to scale the starry sky,
When Briareus, arm'd with a hundreth hands,
Flung forth a hundreth mountains at great Jove;
And when the monstrous giant Monichus
Hurld mount Olympus at great Mars his targe,
And darted cedars at Minerva's shield.

Selimus, 2431-38.

Mow'd downe themselves with slaughter mercillesse

Ruines of Rome, 138.

Then gan that nation, th' earth's new giant brood,
To dart abroad the thunder bolts of warre,
And, beating downe these walls with furious mood

149-51

Like as whilome the children of the earth
Heapt hils on hils, to scale the starrie skie

155-6

The furious squadrons downe to ground did fall

160

And th' heavens in glorie triumpht over all

162

Like as ye see the wrathfull sea from farre,
In a great mountaine heap't with hideous noyse,

Eftsoones of thousand billowes shouldred narre

211-13

Tossing huge tempests through the troubled skie

216

If we assume that *Selimus* is copied by *Locrine* here, we are compelled to believe that the author of *Locrine* made up the passage in question of two passages from *Selimus* far apart, a passage from the *Ruines of Rome* not used by the author of *Selimus*, and inserted lines of his own. It is surely much more probable that the author of *Locrine* borrowed from two passages of the *Ruines of Rome*, inserting lines of his own, and that the author of *Selimus* borrowed lines from *Locrine*, putting them in two parts of his play. This probability becomes almost certainty when we remember that *Selimus* has nothing from Spenser's *Complaints* (with the possible exception of a single line) not found in *Locrine*, while *Locrine* has much from the *Complaints* not found in *Selimus*. To put it briefly, our conclusion is, that all the borrowings from the *Complaints* found in *Selimus* come by way of *Locrine*. This is certainly more reasonable than Crawford's explanation, "The author of *Locrine* merely happened to discover that *Selimus* had obtained a small portion of its material from *The Ruines of Rome*, and he followed suit, but with less discretion and infinitely less ability."¹ It is very strange that the author of *Locrine* made this discovery and failed to discover the borrowings from *The Faerie Queene* in *Selimus*,

¹ Crawford, p. 57.

which are much more numerous. *Locrine* has nothing from *The Faerie Queene*.¹

Additional evidence for the priority of *Locrine* may be found, I believe, in a case in which the author of that play has plainly borrowed from Greene's *Menaphon*, as he has borrowed from other prose works of Greene. The passage in *Menaphon* runs as follows: "As if another Alcides (the armstrong darling of the doubled night) by wrastling with snakes,"² etc. *Locrine* has (III, iv, 34)

The armstrong offspring of the doubled night.

Selimus has in one passage (1668-71) the epithet "armstrong" in a context, two lines of which are parallel to lines of *Locrine*. One of these lines in *Locrine* is in a context that is plainly developed from the passage taken from *Menaphon*. Words or phrases suggested by Greene's expression are found in, at least, two other passages of *Locrine*. I give below all the passages in question, using italics to bring out the parallels.

The *armstrong offspring* of the doubled night,
Stout Hercules, Alcmena's mightie sonne,
 That tamde the monsters of the threefold world

Locrine, III, iv, 34-6.

Stout Hercules, the mirrour of the world,
Sonne to Alcmena and great *Iupiter*,
 After so many conquests wonne in field,
 After so many monsters queld by force,
 Yeelded his valiant heart to Omphale.

Locrine, IV, Prol., 3-7.

¹ Cf. p. 20—.

² Greene's Works, Huth Library, Vol. 6, p. 89. Arber's Reprint of *Menaphon*, p. 56. Noted by Collins, *The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene*. I. p. 67, note.

*Now sit I like the mightie god of warre,
When, armed with his coat of Adament*

Locrine, III., iv., 6-7.

*Now sit I like the arm-strong son of Jove,
When, after he had all his monsters quell'd
He was receiv'd in heaven 'mongst the gods,
And had fair Hebe for his lovely bride.*

Selimus, 1668-71.

The perfectly natural inference to be drawn from an examination of these passages is, I maintain, that the author of *Locrine* borrowed from Greene, amplified the material borrowed, and passed some of it on to *Selimus*. It is, I believe, absolutely unreasonable to infer that the author of *Locrine* developed his lines from the suggestions contained in the passage from *Selimus*.

From the evidence that has been gathered from an examination of the parallel comic scenes of the plays, the borrowings from Spenser's *Complaints*, and the borrowing from Greene just considered, we may maintain that *Locrine* is earlier than *Selimus*, and that, in the case of other parallel passages, *Selimus* has copied *Locrine*. Space will not permit the exhibition of the full extent of this copying; I give a few examples for illustration; others may be found in Crawford, pp. 52-58, Koeppel, *Jahrbuch*, XLI, pp. 194-7, Collins *The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene*, I, pp. 64-66.

Where I may damne, condemne, and ban my fill
And vtter curses to the concaue skie,
Which may infect the aiery regions.

Loc. III, vi, 8-11.

Now Bajazet will ban another while,
And utter curses to the concave sky
Which may infect the regions of the air.

Sel. 1800-2.

And but thou better vse thy bragging blade,
Then thou doest rule thy ouerflowing toong,
Superbious Brittain, thou shalt know too soone

Loc. II, iv, 23-25.

But thou canst better use thy bragging blade,
Than thou canst rule thy overflowing tongue,
Soon shalt thou know that Selim's mighty arm

Sel. 2467-69.

Whose only lookes did scarre his enemies

Loc. I, Prol. 17.

Whose only name affrights your enemies

Sel. 185.

Our discussion thus far has been chiefly concerned with parallels between *Locrine* and *Selimus*, but we have had occasion to point out parallels between the former play and other works certainly of earlier date.¹ To these may be added parallels with Greene's *Anatomy of Fortune* (1584), *The Spanish Tragedy* (1585-87?), and *Tamburlaine* (1587?) Parallels have also been found with other plays of uncertain date, Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* and *Dido*, Greene's *Alphonsus of Arragon*, Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*, Lodge's *Wounds of Civil War*, and *The Tragedy of Tancred and Gismunda*.

Can, now, these parallel passages help us in any way to determine the date of *Locrine*? I believe that they can to some extent, but the result is not so definite as one could wish. Among the many passages borrowed from Spenser's *Complaints* are

¹ See p. 20, p. 23.

these two lines from *The Ruines of Time*, ll. 568-9.¹

But what can long abide above this ground
In state of blis, or stedfast happinesse?

In this poem² Spenser refers by name to Watson's *Meliboeus*,³ an eclogue written on the death of Sir Francis Walsingham, who died April 6, 1590. *The Complaints* was entered in the Stationers' Register December 29, 1590. Hence *The Ruines of Time* must have been written between April 6 and December 29, 1590. *Locrine*, which borrows from it, cannot, then, be earlier than April 6, 1590. This point was first made, I believe, by W. S. Gaud in *Modern Philology*, I, p. 409. But we can go one step further. *Locrine*, V, iv, 242, has this line,

One mischiefe followes on another's necke,⁴

which is parallel to a line of *Tancred and Gismunda*,

One mischief brings another on his neck.⁵

The Tragedy of Tancred and Gismunda is founded on the old play *Gismond of Salern in Love*,⁶ which was performed in 1568. This old play was not printed, but in 1591 Robert Wilmot rewrote it in blank verse, making many changes and additions. One of the lines added is that borrowed by *Locrine*. Prefixed to Wilmot's play is a commendatory

¹ *Locrine*, I, Prol. 19-20.

² l. 436.

³ Arber's Reprints, Vol. IX.

⁴ Text omits *on*.

⁵ Dodsley-Hazlitt, *Old English Plays*, VII, p. 93.

⁶ Printed by Brandl in *Quellen des Weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*, pp. 539-595.

letter from William Webbe, dated August 8, 1591.¹ *Locrine*, then, must be later than this date. Further than this we do not seem able to go at present.

We have considered above parallels between *Selimus* and *Locrine*. Crawford² has pointed out many between *Selimus* and the plays of Marlowe, especially *Tamburlaine*; he concludes from the evidence that *Selimus* is an early work of Marlowe. Grosart³ has found parallels between this play and the works of Greene. I have noted some with Lodge's *Wounds of Civil War*, and *The True Chronicle Historie of King Leir*. It has been shown that *Selimus* like *Locrine* borrows from many works; the two plays seem to stand in a class by themselves in this wholesale appropriation of other men's work. May they not, then, be works of the same author? Nearly all the evidence is against such a conclusion. While the two plays have this characteristic of large handed borrowing and have many lines in common, they are so absolutely different in every other characteristic that it is almost impossible to conceive them to be the works of one author.⁴ The only one, I believe, who has maintained the theory of common authorship is J. C. Collins, who says, "I maintain then that, if the question is to be argued on such evidence as is now attainable, the presumption is in favour of

¹ Dodsley-Hazlitt, *Old English Plays*, VII, 13.

² pp. 69-85.

³ *The Temple Dramatists, Selimus*, Preface, XII-XX.

⁴ Crawford, p. 66, rejects the theory of common authorship, on the ground that *Locrine* has nothing from *The Faerie Queene*, from which *Selimus* takes much.

the author of *Selimus* having been the author of *Locrine*; the two plays must stand or fall together.”¹

On the evidence of borrowed passages we have been able to find out a little concerning the date of *Locrine*; we may now proceed to consider whether we can get any light on the question of the authorship of these plays from the evidence of parallel passages. I have noted earlier in this paper² the great difficulty of determining any general characteristics of style for the dramatic work of any one of the predecessors of Shakespeare (Marlowe is, to a certain extent, an exception). It will, therefore, be very difficult, if not impossible, to trace any such general characteristics of style in anonymous plays; for example, to find traces of Greene’s style in *Selimus*. We may, perhaps, say that the style of parts of *Locrine* and *Selimus* is like the style of *Tamburlaine*, but this is very different from showing that it is like the style of Marlowe. If, now, we use the evidence of parallel passages in the cases of *Locrine* and *Selimus*, we shall surely arrive at no certain results. These plays have borrowed so much from so many sources, that, on the evidence of parallel passages, they can be assigned to almost any of the predecessors of Shakespeare. And this is just what has happened. *Locrine* has been assigned to Marlowe,³ Greene,⁴

¹ The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene, I, 67.

² See p. 15.

³ Steevens, Supplement to Johnson and Steevens’ edition of Shakespeare’s Plays, 1780, Vol. II, pp. 189 ff.

⁴ Crawford, p. 85.

Peele,¹ and Kyd²; J. M. Robertson divides it between Greene and Peele.³ *Selimus* has met a similar fate. Grosart⁴ has tried to prove it to be the work of Greene, but his conclusion has not been generally accepted. Crawford, using the evidence of parallels, proves, to his own satisfaction, that it is an early work of Marlowe, his first attempt at a Tamburlaine play. No one else seems to have accepted his conclusion.

The method of proof from parallel passages has been used to a greater or less extent by almost all those who have discussed the very vexed question of the authorship of *The First Part of the Contention* and *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke* and the relation of these plays respectively to the Second and Third Parts of *Henry VI*. Marlowe, Greene, Peele, and Shakespeare, single or mixed in various proportions, appear in the results obtained by the different investigators.

In considering the evidence of parallel passages the assumption is generally made that such passages indicate common authorship of the plays in which they are found. I believe that our study of *Lochrine* and *Selimus* shows that such passages are much more likely to show authorship by different men. For example, if we find a line of *Tamburlaine* in *The First Part of the Contention*, this is not so likely to be evidence that Marlowe wrote *The First Part of the Contention*, or part of it, as it

¹ W. S. Gaud, *Modern Philology*, I, 409, ff.

² Moorman, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, V, 268.

³ Did Shakespeare write "*Titus Andronicus*," p. 99.

⁴ Huth Library, *Greene's Works*. *Temple Dramatists, Selimus*.

is to be evidence that the author of that play appropriated a line of *Tamburlaine*.

Another view of the matter is disclosed when we consider passages common to several plays. Too little material of this sort has yet been collected to afford any basis for a study. A few examples may, perhaps, illustrate the manner in which material is passed from hand to hand, and changed as it goes; they may, too, be suggestive of the possibilities that lie in the study of a large amount of such material from a given period.

When she that rules in Rhamnis golden gates

I. *Tamburlaine*, II, iii, 635¹.

If she that rules faire Rhamnis golden gate

Locrine, II, i, 20.

Chief patroness of Rhamus' golden gate

Selimus, 682.

O thou that rulest in Ramnis golden gate

Watson, *Tears of Fancie*, Sonnet 42.

That onely Iuno rules in Rhamnuse towne

Dido III, ii, 830.

I hold the Fates bound fast in yron chaines,

And with my hand turn Fortune's wheel about

I *Tamburlaine* I, ii, 369-70.

I clap vp Fortune in a cage of gold

To make her turn her wheele as I thinke best

Alphonsus of Arragon, IV, iii, 1480-81.²

Pompey, the man that made the world to stoop,

And fetter'd fortune in the chains of power.

Wounds of Civil War, p. 194.³

Leades fortune tied in a chaine of gold

Locrine, II, i, 15.

Thou hast not Fortune tied in a chain

Selimus, 2420.

¹ *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, edited by C. F. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, 1910.

² Collins, *The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene*.

³ Dodsley-Hazlitt, *Old English Plays*, VII.

For there [at the sword's point] sits death, there sits imperious death,

Keeping his circuit by the slicing edge

I *Tamburlaine* V, ii, 1892-3

Upon my sword's sharp point standeth pale Death

Selimus, 665.

And more: see here the dangerous trote of war,

That at the point is steel'd with ghastly death

Wounds of Civil War, p. 155.

For Nemesis, the mistresse of reuenge,

Sits arm'd at all points on our dismall blades

Lochrine, V, ii, 45-6.

For angry Nemesis sits on my sword to be reuenged

Orlando Furioso, V, ii, 1380.

Or I will make him hop without a head

Chronicle History of King Leir, p. 342, l. 5¹

He hops without his head and rests among his fellow rebels.

True Tragedy of Richard III, p. 103, l. 3.²

Vnlesse you headlesse mean to hoppe away

James IV, II, ii, 1028.

I'de reach to' th' Crowne, or make some hop headlesse

First Part of the Contention (1619)³.

Or ile make them hop without their crownes, that denies me

True Tragedy of Richard III, p. 64, l. 6.

Then let their Selim hop without the crown.

Selimus, 104.

Will Fortune favour me yet once again?

And will she thrust the cards into my hands?

Well, if I chance but once to get the deck,

To deal about and shuffle as I would;

Let Selim never see the daylight spring,

Unless I shuffle out myself a King.

Selimus, 1538-43⁴

¹ Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, Part II, Vol. II.

² Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, Part II, Vol. I.

³ Praetorius Facsimile, p. 9. Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, Part II, Vol. I, p. 423, note.

⁴ Crawford, p. 91, notes the parallel between *Selimus* and *Massacre at Paris*, C. F. Tucker Brooke that between *Massacre at Paris* and *True Tragedy*. See *Trans. Connecticut Acad. Arts and Sciences*, 17, 168 (July, 1912).

Then Guise,
 Since thou hast all the Cardes within thy hands,
 To shuffle or cut, take this as surest thing:
 That right or wrong, thou deale thy selfe a King.

Massacre at Paris, ll 145-8.

Alasse that Warwike had no more foresight,
 But whilst he sought to steale the single ten,
 The King was finelie fingerd from the decke.

True Tragedy of Richard Duke of Yorke, p. 87, ll 20-22¹.

An exhaustive collection and careful collation of such material would, I am confident, throw much light on the difficult problems of chronology and authorship in the history of the English drama from 1585 to 1595.

¹ Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, Part II, Vol. II.

SHAKESPEARE'S PATHOS

J. F. A. PYRE

One of the pre-requisites to a sound philosophy of Shakespeare is a correct valuation of his appeals to sympathy. A dramatist is singularly liable to "short circuits" in his lines of communication. He must reckon on a considerable factor of variability when reckoning how an audience will react to presentations of human character, situation, and passion and to many necessarily uncommented juxtapositions of the same. Doubtless there is a slighter leakage in Shakespeare than in most dramatists. He understood human nature in the audience form as in others, and he understood the dramatic strokes by which an audience is kept alive and scored upon. In this unerringness of Shakespeare lies one secret of his power and lastingness. Nevertheless, that even Shakespeare was not entirely wanting in a humane capacity for making himself misunderstood, criticism bears copious witness. It is not merely that every generation starts out afresh to find phrases which content it for impressions that, ever afresh, "break through language and escape." The difficulty is, we cannot easily satisfy ourselves that the right impression itself has not eluded us. Thus, the chase after the

Shakespearean intention has the inexhaustible zest of life itself.

Three centuries have not glided by without some erosions of human sympathy. The modern reader, depending for his comprehension of the Shakespearean drama upon a printed text of dubious sanction, supplemented, to be sure, by some stage tradition,—but this with slight claim to authenticity and much of it erroneous or degraded,—finds himself at several removes from his author. Special intellectual curiosities can be distinguished with reasonable definiteness and allowed for or sympathetically entered into. A few topical hints no doubt evade us, though Shakespeare's mind was of that high order which is sensitive to the vulgarity of near allusion and seldom stoops to a mere topical hit when "some necessary business of the play" is to be considered. Changes in taste and morals are more important and more difficult to cope with; but the clash of standards can usually be mitigated by a slight imaginative adjustment. Prince Hal's black-guardisms, practical jokes, and yearnings after "that poor creature, small beer", Falstaff's grosser peccadilloes and Sir Toby's unconscionable carousings, need not give us, precisely, Mid-Victorian qualms. Most of us will not permit anachronistic sentimentalism to betray us into maudlin sympathy with a reviled and defeated Israelite and money-lender; we will rejoice boldly in the triumph of Portia's wits and the release of the wealthy and elegant Antonio. But we enter a doubtful zone. We may experience

only the requisite ruefulness in contemplating Sir Toby's bloody coxcomb, yet feel ourselves emotionally insecure in the presence of Elizabethan portrayals of madmen and ghosts. Of Bassanio's borrowed plumes and his fortune-hunt over against Belmont, of Valentine's cool proposal to toss Sylvia to the precious Proteus, of Julia's complaisance toward the same being and of Hero's toward the "young cub" who has despitely used her, of the heartless baiting of Malvolio, of Prospero's cruelty to Caliban, Hamlet's to Ophelia, of Helena's device for binding a husband and of Isabella's surrender to one, what are we to think? Or rather, what are we expected to feel?

Thus we come gradually into a realm of imaginative predilection and moral prejudice where the placement of sympathy among blended emotional values is a delicate matter. Yet in a moral world like that created by Shakespeare's art, accuracy of discernment is of the utmost importance. A slight error near the center projects us along some radial interpretation to a peripheral conclusion far wide of the mark. Now, there are, in Shakespeare, for all his variety and so-called objectivity, a good many habitual modes of feeling, and he developed a sure instinct for the dramatic means by which to reach the consciousness and take firm and lasting hold on the sympathies of his audience. It is mainly by sensing these—his habitual modes of feeling and his habitual devices for kindling sympathy—that the student of Shakespeare learns to feel his way about in the plays and becomes

more and more confident as to his author's intention in any given case. One of these fields of Shakespeare's habit and practice it is the object of this paper to explore, not merely because the exercise is amusing in itself, but because, even when dealing with phenomena so elusive as emotional values and shades of artistic effect, there is an advantage to be derived from bringing together, for comparison and arrangement, all the specimens of a group.

Shakespeare's pathos is one of the ground tones of his passionate genius, like his humour, his pure joyousness, his serene exaltation, his voluptuous melancholy, his sense of thrilling excitement, his stirring heroic strenuousness, his sense of weirdness and mystery, his romance, his imperious tragic grandeur. Such a list of qualities is perhaps not strictly categorical. It merely enumerates some of the dominant Shakespearean moods and might be measurably condensed or enlarged, at will. It has a different basis from the scheme of the elementary passions as they are ordinarily classified. Possibly no two men would exactly coincide in their analysis or their characterization of phenomena which are so complex and in which subjective elements play so large a part. At the same time, there will be a fair agreement among educated persons as to the general effect produced by an exhibition of the passions in any given case. Representations of the passions may excite in us their like, but not necessarily so; the same elementary passions make very different appeals ac-

according to the conditions under which their effects are shown. The passion of fear, so terrible in *Macbeth*, is ludicrous in Sir Andrew Aguecheek, is both comical and prettily pathetic in Viola, and passes into the realm of supernatural awe in the ghost scenes of *Hamlet*, with a varied key for each character that encounters the dreaded sight. Clearly the passions are only working colors of the dramatist and their emotional appeal depends upon the manner in which they are blended with one another and the objects to which they are applied. We may be amused by an exhibition of anger or roused to an emotion resembling anger by an exhibition of levity; we may be frightened or appalled by a powerful presentment of rage, or we may be kindled to indignation or scorn by a dastardly exhibition of fear. The sight of grief begets in us, not a precise imitation of the passion but a modified form of it which we call pity, and the nature and intensity of our sorrow is determined by the character of our sympathy. The amenities of art require, moreover, that the emotions awakened by such representations shall be of such nature and intensity only as make for a generally pleasurable result, and this is effected through the capacity of the representation to awaken sentiment in us: that is, emotionally modified thought or fancy whereby we are guided to a perception of the causes and relations of things, their meaning, fitness, and proportion, mingled with a sense of the adequacy or beauty of the representation.

Passion, like action, awakens emotion partly through its revelation of character, and our response is regulated by our sympathy or antipathy toward the character our conception of which it augments. We are further excited by passion on account of its bearing, through character, on fate; we feel in it an immediate or a potential force which may influence the fate, either of the character in whom it is exhibited or of other characters in whose fate we are interested. Such, in part, is our state of mind while witnessing the immoderate outbursts of Lear in his first scene, the overwrought transports of Othello when reunited with his wife in Cyprus, the first ecstasies of Romeo and Juliet, the abnormal melancholy of Hamlet, or Lady Macbeth's devouring ambition. In one respect, all these violent moods thrill us to admiration, exalting our sense of the powers of the human soul; but, also, they alarm us; they are "too like the lightning"; we feel them to be charged with fatal potentialities. Action in turn excites us, not only because of its immediate occasion for the expression of human nature, that is, for demonstrations of passion and revelations of character, but, likewise, because of "some consequence yet hanging in the stars" which may produce joy or suffering in the actor himself or in the persons acted upon. We respond to representations of passion, therefore, first, as excitants, through suggestion and sympathy, of similar, but agreeable, activities in ourselves; second, as revelations of character; third, as consequences of previous ac-

tion or as sources of further trains of action which may, in turn, produce further consequences, together with new manifestations of passion and new revelations of character. In a work of representative art, in drama especially, all these dynamic elements are ultimately resolved into a static condition of feeling in which we receive, not the impact of the final scene alone, but in which the imagination turns backward upon its series of experiences and the whole related scheme of passion, character, act, and consequence, streams through us like the related notes of a musical chord, leaving us, thoughtful, hushed, impressed, appalled, warmed, delighted, touched, refreshed, invigorated, exalted, or in some similarly stilled and passive mood of unified but unvolitional excitement, according to the nature and intensity of the representation.

The "pathetic" mood, then, is one of the general modes of feeling, or complex states of emotion awakened by representative art, and "pathos" is a quality of the representation by which this effect is produced. The attempt to set metes and bounds to a field of emotion where all terms are variable and many of them imply the others may seem a foolhardy undertaking; and yet some further discrimination seems necessary. The most obvious process of pathos is the awakening of sympathy for suffering or misfortune, the emotion which we call pity. But pity itself is a constituent of numerous moods not all of which possess the quality of pathos. In popular usage there is

a tendency to attend exclusively to the pitiful element in pathos so that almost any misfortune which awakens emotion will be referred to as "pathetic", especially if the sense of it be sharpened by some irony of circumstance or association. This is plainly indiscriminating. The effect of pathos is most frequently obtained through an appeal to the sense of misfortune combined with a further stirring of tender sentiment through the coincident revelation of some gracious or admirable trait in the object of compassion. By these means there is produced a commingling of warm and sympathetic emotions which is extremely pleasurable, is allied to the passive side of our natures and is the effect of what we call "pathos".

The quality of a pathos depends upon the proportions in which are mingled the elements of pity, on the one hand, and of other tender emotions such as affection, gratitude, admiration, or joy, on the other. An example of the interoperation of pity, admiration, and affection, is well delineated in Othello's analysis of the witchcraft by which he won Desdemona, ending

She loved me for the dangers I had passed
And I loved her that she did pity them.

And yet, despite the touching elements in it, Othello's story of his wooing is not pathetic, for we have yet to reckon with his dignity of manner which carries the entire recital out of the domain of pathos and this, it should be noted, is in accord with Othello's main purpose as an orator, which

is, not to *touch* merely, but to *convince*. On the other hand, in some cases of true pathos, the element of compassion is so slight that the emotion appears to depend upon a response to beauty or admirableness alone,—or even to joy itself. Ruskin somewhere describes a natural landscape as possessing “pathetic beauty.” It is doubtful, however, if beauty or joy are ever truly pathetic save through some (however delicate) *arrière pensée* of their transiency, helplessness, insecurity, or the like; as of “beauty whose action is no stronger than a flower”, and “joy whose hand is ever at his lips, bidding adieu”. Pathos may arise from a sense of contrast between present joy and foregone hardship, suffering, or peril. In these last cases, of course, the emotion of pity is deflected from the present, to a past, or an imagined condition, and the two emotions, of joy in the present happiness, and of pity for the contrasted condition, coalesce to produce a pathetic mood in which a feeling akin to gratitude is predominant. The converse of this situation is too commonplace to require analysis.

All of these conditions of sentiment, it will be readily seen, if they become habitual or constitutional, or if they be too little relieved by the brighter emotions, will be depressed to the mood which we call melancholy. Pathos and melancholy are adjacent, therefore, but not identical. They may even coalesce; but they are, in most cases, easily distinguishable. There is a rich vein of melancholy in Shakespeare; but his pathos is

not, usually, an outgrowth of his melancholy; rather is his melancholy a deepening of his pathos. Shakespeare's pathos, and it may be added his melancholy also, lies quite close to his humour; and the reason for this is manifest when we enquire into the nature of both. Since his pathos consists largely in a conflict of agreeable and painful emotions, a slight change in texture may readily give us, instead of a pathos enlivened by humour, a humour sweetened with pathos.

One further important distinction remains to be made; but, as it has been often discussed elsewhere, it may be briefly disposed of here. This is the distinction between the pathetic and the sublime. Shakespearean commentators not infrequently refer to the pathos of his great tragic scenes, and although this is not necessarily wrong, it can easily be misleading. Of course, no one with an eye to their total effect would think of applying the term, "pathetic" to the finales of *Lear*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, or, indeed, of any of the tragedies. The fact is, that Shakespeare never, whether in comedy or tragedy, ends in the pathetic key,—a point to which I shall return later. That there is an admixture of compassion in these great scenes is true; but the passions with which it is commingled are so agitating, the action so frantic, the consequences so prodigious, that pity is smothered up in dismay. At the very end, to be sure, the winds fall and cease, and the waves break back on themselves in a mighty subsidence; but it is the calm of a supreme exaltation. We ourselves, like the

hero at his last breath, seem to be snatched up out of the storm and the struggle which roll harmlessly backward below us, and the emotion we feel,—if emotion that mood can be called which consists in a momentary superiority to all finite agitation,—is “that emotion of detachment and liberation in which the sublime really consists”.¹ The emotion of the sublime is like that of pathos in that in both cases we are totally passive; but in the one case, our passivity is that of a breathless, almost benumbing contraction, as if for a sudden spring; the passivity of the pathetic mood is relaxed, unnerved, deep breathing, as of the languor which precedes contraction. In the one we are close to the infinite; in the other, we feel our kinship with mortality, deliciously, warm, in every cell.

Thus far we have been concerned, for the most part, with the general nature of pathos as a quality of dramatic representation. I turn now to a brief consideration of the particular aspects of human life with which the Shakespearean pathos is most frequently associated. It would be tedious to catalogue methodically all of the “seven ages of man”, with their varieties and activities, that appear in the theater of Shakespeare; it will be helpful to collect into somewhat orderly form such few of life’s phenomena as have especial significance from our point of view, and so regard them.

The stage of human life to which Shakespeare most consistently attaches a pathetic significance

¹ Santayana, *The Sense of Beauty*, p. 239.

is, of course, childhood and early youth. The young princes in *Richard III*, Arthur in *King John*, Falstaff's page in *Henry IV* and *Henry V*, the boy, Lucius, in *Julius Caesar*, in *Macbeth*, the son of Macduff, and the youth, Fleance, over whose unconscious head a royal destiny "broods like the day", with whose escape begins the fatal ravelling of Macbeth's ill-wrought ambition, young Marcius in *Coriolanus*, Mamillius in *The Winter's Tale*, and Imogen's brothers, the stolen princes of *Cymbeline*, are all introduced or developed in some degree for pathetic enhancement of the scene, though in varying degrees connected with its motivation. Of the same character are the earlier and fainter sketches of "young Talbot", "pretty Rutland", "young Henry, Earl of Richmond" in the *Henry VI* plays, and young Lucius in *Titus Andronicus*. All of these, it will be noticed, are boys and nearly all are instruments of comedy as well as pathos, having about them a pretty pertness which is one of the attractive and amusing, and of the annoying, traits of forward childhood. How well Shakespeare understood the principle that life is not exclusively a serio-solemn business and that those who lay hold of our affections do so, in part, by amusing our lighter fancy, not by eternally edifying, these childhood sketches clearly demonstrate. Childhood, by its innocence and helplessness, its perilous buddings of untimely spring, its physical sweetness, its playfulness of spirit, and its invitation to the mind to look toward the coming years,—childhood, when it meets with

misfortune, suffering, or dissolution, is of the very essence of pathos. To the examples already enumerated some would doubtless add the Fool in *King Lear*, as being a child in heart, at least, if not in years. And, finally, Shakespeare's awakenedness to the sympathetic promptings of tender years is shown by his exclusion from *Othello* of any reference to the child of Iago which plays so striking a part in Cinthio's story, and by the almost hectic charm of seeming youthfulness with which he invested Romeo, his prince of lovers, and Hamlet, his most beloved of princes.

Towards old age, which, in an opposite way to childhood, walks near the gates of life, Shakespeare is less uniformly tender. He is no less disposed to laugh than weep over the fatuity of years that bring the philosophizing mind, but no true grasp of life. One thinks of Polonius, Falstaff, and Shallow and of such doddering old lords as Montague and Capulet, and as Leonato and his brother Antonio in *Much Ado*. It may be surprising to find Falstaff in this list; but I suppose, notwithstanding his creator's and our delight in him, Falstaff, as a philosopher, stands confuted; his duel with time is a drawn battle, won by the latter through sheer waiting. There are numerous examples of solitary and garrulous age in the plays totally unconnected with their motivation, but introduced for picturesque or choric effect,—detached and wandering fragments of humanity that drift across the scene and shake their feeble heads. At least two old men, Duncan in *Macbeth* and

Adam in *As You Like It*, seem to have been specifically drawn for pathetic contrast. There are touches of the same quality in *Titus Andronicus*, a first sketch of *Lear*, and in *Cymbeline*. In the historical plays, the subject matter, since times succeed to times, naturally led to numerous portraits of men past their powers: "Old John of Gaunt" and York in *Richard II*, Gloucester in *Henry VI*, and, for the women, the Duchess of York in *Richard III* and the Duchess of Gloucester in *Richard II* are early examples of old age full of sorrows and bitter memories. But none of these are precisely pathetic; they are too much in monotone, and they appear more or less at random in the scheme of emotional values. The character of Henry IV is more fully wrought and the failure of life in him is consistently drawn out to a specifically pathetic result. The dramatist's growing deftness in the handling of pathos is particularly shown in the king's occasional flashes of his old "efficiency". It remained for Shakespeare, in midst of other woe, to bring home, once and supremely, the pathos of age, in *Lear*.

When enumerating the sketches of youth in the plays, I silently reserved for separate mention Shakespeare's heroines, so many of whom seem just emerging from girlhood, and so many of whom, by the way, give us enchanting glimpses of boyishness through the *chiaroscuro* of their own impersonations. More and more, as he went forward, Shakespeare seems to have been taught to find in the women of his stories the staple source

of his pathos. Shakespeare's heroines are not without initiative and courage; indeed, in many cases, these are among their most distinctive traits. But therein lies, it may be said, much of their appealing quality. It is by chance of these necessities, in contrast to the conventional helplessness of their position and the passive bent of their natures, that they make their exceptional claims on our admiration and our sympathy. Heroism is inspiring in Shakespeare's men; it is touching in his women. Their own gayety under hard conditions makes us no less disposed to give them our hearts. And it is curious, when one comes to look into it from this point of view, how large a proportion of his heroines Shakespeare has placed at some especial disadvantage in their coping with the world and the decision vital to women. Almost every one of them is motherless, and somehow we receive the intangible impression that most of them have long been so. Juliet alone has the full complement of parents and both of these are represented as intemperate and unsympathetic. Portia and Viola are orphans, the first with a legacy of wealth encumbered with a crotchety restriction, the second, separated by shipwreck from her brother and penniless on a strange coast. Helena in *All's Well* is newly orphaned, brotherless and in poverty. Isabella is a nun, with an erring brother. Perdita and Marina are castaways and grow to maturity among strangers. Rosalind follows a banished father into forest exile. Imogen has a cruel and wicked step-mother. Jessica,

Hero, Ophelia, Desdemona, and Cordelia are all estranged in some manner from their far from faultless fathers. Only Miranda in the critical moment of life has the guidance of a wise and sympathetic parent. That, in a majority of cases, the special conditions surrounding the Shakespearean heroine exist for romantic as much as for pathetic toning and for the purpose of placing the heroine in situations favorable to dramatic entanglement, need hardly be said. Nevertheless, these conditions are favorable to pathetic effect in proportion to the naturalism of the treatment, so that, in most of the dramas of Shakespeare's maturity, even when the interest is lodged primarily among the male characters, the heroine will be found to be central to his main scenes of pathos.

Since the natural affections are the chief sources of pathetic emotion, there is a sacrifice of materials involved in the motherless condition of the Shakespearean heroine. Considering the exhaustiveness with which, generally speaking, Shakespeare covered the range of human relations, he must be admitted to have used but sparingly the motive of mother and child. Fatherhood appears in full gamut, but motherhood, especially in the relationship of mother and daughter, is almost, though by no means quite, absent. Possibly acting conditions were partially responsible for the omission, though this explanation would seem to be confounded by the examples which the plays afford. Here again, as in the case of old age, the early histories are prolific of random examples: Margaret

in *Henry VI*, the women of *Richard III*, the Duchess of York in *Richard II*, Constance in *King John*, are emphatic, though not essentially pathetic, portrayals of sorrowing motherhood. It is not until the very latest plays, if we except the Countess in *All's Well*, and Mistress Page in the *Merry Wives*, both of whom are somewhat brusquely motherly, that we encounter any adequate interpretations of motherhood; for Hamlet's mother will hardly be accounted an exception and Lady Macbeth's allusions to her children are not reassuring. But Hermione touches us notably, as Volumnia almost entirely, through the quality of her motherhood, and the effect, in both cases, is that of a noble pathos. Katherine's last scene in *Henry VIII* contains some touching references to her children; but this is probably in Fletcher's part of the play.

The insistence of the plays upon the relation of father and daughter has been indicated. Of the other natural bonds I will not pursue all the instances, for they are of the fullness of Shakespeare. The bond of father and son, of brother and sister, of husband and wife, of the lover and the beloved, of kin and country, of friendship and old acquaintance, in all degrees between men and between women, the affiliations of master and man, of mistress and maid, of liege lord and loving subject, these natural and domestic bonds of human society furnish the bases of affections and of endearing expressions, in act or word, of loyalty, admiration, sacrifice, gratitude, and forgiveness,

through which the personages of Shakespeare's scene, caught in a quivering but gentle net of hours, make their appeals to our tender sympathies, loosen and set free the flow of our sweetest emotions.

Since in the least restless moments of life the motions of the heart are most clearly and humanly felt,

While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony and the deep power of joy
We see into the life of things,

Shakespeare skillfully associates his pathos with the leisurely pursuits and the most sensitive operations of the mind: such occupations as reading, listening to music, meditation, friendly converse; such intuitive operations as are involved in shy and random reminiscence, recapitulation, or comparison, or in half-conscious or vaguely relevant planning, premonition and presentiment. These moods fall in moments of reunion or leave-taking, of happiness after sorrow or safety after peril, of momentary release from labor or pain, in the lulls of grief or conflict, which, in tragedy, are but the suspensive pause before the blow, a momentary hush of the unexpended storm "from whose solid atmosphere, black rain, and fire, and hail, will burst" in the final cataclysm.

For the accentuation of these moods, Shakespeare frequently employs certain incidental accessories upon which he securely relies for the pathetic modulation of the scene. One of these accessories,

already hinted at, is music, not extraneous, usually, but motived by the action and an organic part of it. The boy, Lucius, touches the lute while Brutus watches in his tent on the eve of Philippi; Ophelia's mad snatches, Desdemona's "Willow" song, the music which the Doctor prescribes for the awakening of Lear, Fidele's dirge in *Cymbeline*, and numerous minor instances are to the same purpose. Flowers, also, are accessories of pathetic suggestion. Nothing in the mad scenes of Ophelia, when portrayed on the stage, is more conducive to tears than her business with the flowers:

Thought and affliction, passion, hell itself
She turns to favour and to prettiness.

Other flower passages in the plays have been frequently commented on, because of their exquisite poetry. Such are Perdita's "I would I had some flowers o' the spring", etc., and Arviragus's less famous or at least less frequently quoted, but hardly less beautiful

With fairest flowers
Whilst summer lasts and I live here, Fidele,
I'll sweeten thy sad grave. Thou shalt not lack
The flower that's like thy face, pale primrose, nor
The azured harebell, like thy veins, no, nor
The leaf of eglantine, whom not to slander,
Out-sweet'ned not thy breath.

Those who have lingered over the quieter scenes of Shakespeare must have been often aware of still another aspect of life which drew from him some of his wooingest and most lovable touches—I mean his references to, and his portrayals of,

sleep. Two qualities of this phase of our natural being seem to have especially impressed Shakespeare—its pathos and its mystery. Both tones are congenial to the subdued movement of his scenes of suspense and preparation, and it is seldom that either is quite absent when sleep is thought of. The mystical bond between man and the secret workings of the invisible universe that clips him round, as shown in the restorative virtue of sleep, but also in “the cursed thoughts that nature gives way to in repose,” the involuntary and apparently lawless, but often startlingly significant operations of the mind off guard, its recapitulation in dreams of the waking past, its random foreshadowings of things to come, made this domain of experience peculiarly attractive to him as a dramatic agency. Sleep is the surprisal of the essential, the very man. It strips from the recital of his acts and the confession and analysis of his psychic life, the artificiality of studied narrative or of self-conscious soliloquy, and it surrounds its revelations with an aura of wonder which allies them to the supernatural. It raises them to a higher power of emotional idealization which intensifies their livingness just as art, just as Shakespeare’s representation itself, is more real than actuality.

Again, sleep is one of the natural goods of life, beautiful in itself, like flowers, like the songs of birds. It is the touchstone of health; as the man sleepeth, so is he. Where virtue is, it is more virtuous, and where beauty is, more beautiful.

The relation to sleep therefore becomes an index of character and of psychic constitution and a means of portraying them. Such intimate revelations are pathetic; their very intimacy tends toward pathos. There is something magical in the mere sight of a sleeper; the sheer passivity, the immobility, the innocence, the helplessness, even of the strong, even of the wicked, come home to us, without comment, directly; the sleeper is made one with nature. And sleep has another direct effect on the imagination to which Shakespeare, like other poets, was keenly alive: it is the portrait and prognostic of the sleep that ends all. Death itself, except in association with childhood, he almost never rendered pathetically; but, in sleep, "death's counterfeit", and in the preparations for it, he seemed to find exactly that fanciful and tender symbol of the dread finality which harmonized with his pathos.

The plays are full of these sleep scenes, sometimes merely described or hinted, sometimes actually represented; usually bound up with the motivation of character and action, but seldom without some direct suggestive value as spectacle and symbol. Such is Tyrrel's picture of the sleeping princes (*Richard III*, IV, iii.)

girdling one another

Within their alabaster innocent arms:
 Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
 Which in their summer beauty kiss'd each other:
 We smothered
 The most replenished sweet work of nature
 That from the prime creation e'er she framed.

There is pathos, not quite lost in voluptuousness, in the picture of the sleeping Lucrece, with Tarquin's ruffian face thrust toward her through the parted curtain:

Showing life's triumph in the map of death
And death's dim look in life's mortality:
Each in her sleep themselves so beautify
As if between them twain there were no strife,
But that life liv'd in death, and death in life.

The same group reappeared, refined and chastened, some fifteen years later in the exquisite chamber scene of *Cymbeline*, where Imogen, fallen asleep over her book, is displayed to the prying eyes of Iachimo.

'Tis her breathing that
Perfumes the chamber thus; the flame of the taper
Bows toward her, and would under-peep her lids
To see the enclosed lights, now canopied
Under these windows, white and azure lac'd
With blue of heaven's own tint—.....
..... On her left breast
A mole cinque spotted, like the crimson drops
I' the bottom of a cowslip.

Place beside this the *coda* of the great Boar's Head scene (*1 Henry IV*, II, iv), the picture of Falstaff "fast asleep behind the arras and snorting like a horse". "Hark, how hard he fetches breath! Search his pockets". This is coming close to the gray, old sinner. His very pockets yield up their secrets. No fear of waking; the trump of doom is a mere fifth in his harmony. The sheriff and his rout have departed; England is arming; and there he lies, in a colossal slumber, the gift we may pre-

sume of much sack, over-taxed nature, and a conscience as easy "an it had been any christom child". "There let him sleep till day". And so we slip out and leave him. The man who will find pathos in this, you may say, will find pathos in anything. Well, perhaps it is not pathos precisely; but it is the very life, and pathos will come of it. A little later (*2 Henry IV*, III, i), we are in the palace of Westminster, and the king enters in his night-gown; he is ill, and old before his time, shaken with cares, and the fault he made in compassing the crown lies heavy on his soul; he dispatches a messenger to "call the Earls of Surrey and of Warwick", and then comes the famous "expostulation":

How many thousand of my poorest subjects
 Are at this hour asleep! O sleep! O gentle sleep!
 Nature's soft nurse, how have I frighted thee?

 Wilt thou upon the high and giddy mast
 Seal up the ship-boy's eyes, and rock his brains
 In cradle of the rude imperious surge

It is a pathetic prelude to the painful crown scene of the ensuing act, the beginning of the end of high-mettled Bolingbroke. Similar reflections upon sleep supply the basis of the only pathetic passage in the life of the new king, the stout-hearted Henry V. After wandering about the sleeping camp and conversing with such of his soldiers as are awake on the night before Agincourt, Henry gives way in solitude to inward thought; his courage quails an instant before the responsibility

which his men have laid upon him for the morrow's business, and it is here that he touches his high point in poetry:

I know

'Tis not the balm, the sceptre and the ball,

 The farced title running fore the king,
 The throne he sits on, nor the tide of pomp
 That beats upon the high shore of this world,

 Can sleep so soundly as the wretched slave
 Who with a body filled and vacant mind
 Gets him to rest, crammed with distressful bread.

Next moment, it is to the "God of battles" that he prays, to "steel his soldiers' hearts"; but it is here that he feels the mystery of life.

It would require a separate paper to trace out all the instances where Shakespeare has made sleep the monitor of one's sense of life, has used its suggestion for stilling in us,—as in the personages of his scene,—the hurly of the restless, active business of waking existence, so that we feel earth breathe, and hear "time flowing in the night", and "all the rivers running to the sea". Perhaps nothing in *Macbeth* is so piteous as the violation done to nature with respect to sleep, "the innocent sleep, sleep that knits up the ravelled sleeve of care". For "Macbeth does murder sleep", his own above all. The theme recurs again and again, culminating in a set scene, the sleep-walking of Lady Macbeth. This scene, however, pitiful as it is, is too terrible for pathos, and probably should not be regarded as the specifically pathetic move-

ment of the play. Like Richard's terrible visitings on the last night of his life it is allied to the supernatural in effect and is a part of the last movement, the catastrophe.

But in several of the tragedies this theme is attached to the set scene of pathos. Brutus leans over the sleeping boy and, with words of unaccustomed lightness and tender fancy, takes the lute from his hands, before settling himself to his book. Desdemona lets down her hair while she sings, remembering her childhood, chats sleepily, rubs her eyes, and prepares for her last rest. Lear awakens from a restoring slumber, shattered but sane, to find Cordelia standing over him with heart too near breaking to dream the word, forgiveness. The feigned death of Juliet had similar potentialities, but they are not, I think, realized; there is too little quietness; the villainous nurse breaks in; horror and confusion unroll; there is no pause over the pathetic beauty of the picture, as in these incomparable scenes. The lovely trance of Imogen, with the dwelling lyricism of her sylvan obsequies, is more like; but after all, more pretty than moving. It is in the awakening of Lear that we have Shakespeare's supreme pathos, too beautiful to bear,—almost.

When, now, with a rather definite idea of the quality of Shakespeare's pathos and a conscious knowledge of the means by which he habitually produced this effect, we examine the plays as a whole, we are immediately aware of a method in the disposition of his pathetic scenes. And if, in

addition, we look at the plays with some attention to the probable order of their composition, we are further impressed by a development in this, as in other aspects of his art, which throws additional light upon his artistic intention. Not only is there an increasing command of the elements of pathos, a surer and finer touch in details; there is increasing sureness of method in his massing of them into set scenes of pathetic climax and in his emphasis of these scenes as a definite movement in the scheme of emotional values, with a sense of their due place and proportion in the total effect of the piece.

As I have already noticed, in passing, Shakespeare never ends a piece in the pathetic key. This distinction of the Shakespearean drama may be well elucidated by a comparison of any of the mature tragedies with such a play as Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*. Here Heywood represents with much dramatic force and naturalness a story of domestic infidelity. The wife, Mistress Frankford, is punished by her husband merely through exile from him and from their children. The concluding scene in which the repentant wife, now on her death-bed, beseeches and receives, among weeping relatives, her husband's heart-felt forgiveness, is treated with sincere and tender feeling and no little poetic beauty. We are deeply touched. But one sees, at once, that Shakespeare would never make such a scene the last movement of a tragic piece. He would not leave us thus emotionally unbraced. Life, in

Shakespeare, is something more heroic than this. His scheme would call for another act in which there should befall the hero some fierce calamity, much or little deserved, but tremendously endured. This scene of touching beauty, though it would have no less value in and for itself, would have a still greater value as an emotional preparation for the grand catharsis of the finale.

What we have in Shakespeare's scenes of pathos, then, is a deliberate modulation of key, somewhat analogous to the modulation of key that has been frequently noticed in his scenes of so-called "comic relief"; so that we might equally speak, if anyone likes the phrase, of his scenes of "pathetic relief". Only these scenes have, in his developed style of dramatic representation, a use beyond that of mere emotional "relief"; they have, in the tragedies especially, as already implied, a perfectly definite position just before the point where we strike into the last movement which works up to the finale, serving on the one hand to prepare us for the catastrophe by dimly fore-shadowing it, and, on the other, to increase the force of its appeal by purifying our emotions and intensifying our sympathy for the chief sufferers. It remains to discover as well as may be, with the means at our disposal, the steps by which Shakespeare became master of this procedure.

For, as I suggested a moment since, it is not to be supposed that Shakespeare came full-fledged to an appreciation of these values in dramatic representation. He found pathetic values in life

and story, just as he found comic and tragic values in them, and his massing and arrangement of these values for purposes of dramatic effect varied with his dramatic purpose and improved with experience. His earliest tragedies make little application of the principle which has just been expounded. The extent of his responsibility for the *Andronicus* is so problematical that it would be unwise to base any conclusions upon this play. Suffice it to say that, though full of the crude materials of pathos, this play shows no real command of pathetic appeal and, partly for this reason perhaps, its abundant horrors fail of a genuinely tragic effect.

Can one, without opening oneself to a charge of vandalism, suggest that anything might be different in so superb a success and so just a favorite as *Romeo and Juliet*? Certain it is that the pathetic and the tragic appeals in this play are more mingled, less distinguishable from each other than in the great central tragedies. Up to and including the parting of Romeo and Juliet, barring some juvenilities of style, the play proceeds in his best manner; the death of Mercutio is consummately managed; the tragic movement begins to disengage itself from its comic support and reaches forward right Shakespeareanly to the parting. So far so good. The fourth act is occupied exclusively with Juliet; but the difficulties which beset her afford no pause for reflection; no opportunity, therefore, for the pathos of her situation to sink in upon us. The objurgations of her parents, the

importunities of Paris, the sensual cacklings of the Nurse, give her no peace and us no repose; even her interviews with the Friar are occupied with practical planning. She swallows the potion in a furore of grisly foreboding. The curtains reopen and show her lying upon her couch, apparently asleep. But the hubbub begins again. The fussy cachinnations of the Nurse, her salacious references to Paris, are followed by the howlings of Juliet's parents, and culminate in the arrival of Paris and the wedding music. Such spiritual beauty as the Friar might be expected to impart to the scene is more than neutralized by the disingenuousness of his position; his consolations are as hollow as the sorrow to which he ministers. There is no denying that the representation of all this empty raving, particularly the Nurse's absurd reverberation of the ranting parents and Capulet's ridiculous banality:

Uncomfortable time, why camst thou now
To murder, murder our solemnity?

displays a power of sardonic realism which cannot be overestimated; but I cannot resist a feeling that, at a later period, Shakespeare would have ordered things somewhat differently at this stage of the tragedy. I feel that, in some beauteous pause at this moment of the action, he would have found means to convey to us the tender significance of the story which, as things stand, is produced in the long and somewhat tedious *coda* to the catastrophe.

The earlier histories are virtually tragedies, in the general sense that they deal with violent and calamitous events. In the Henry VI plays there is no law but lawlessness; if any unity prevails it is perhaps a sense of an inexorable march of events in which one unholy ambition puts up its head only to be hewed down by another which soon suffers the same fate. There are some random strokes of pathos, such as the scenes of Talbot and his son in the fourth act of Part One, which are supposed, from a contemporary allusion, to have been "embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators". A broader pathos is evidently aimed at in the figure of the sentimental and ineffectual king, who steals out of battle to sit upon a hillock and yearn for the shepherd's life; whose misapplied piety is the very source of the wounds that afflict his bleeding country and his own soul. This conception is one feature of the plays in which competent critics discern the presence of Shakespeare; its effect, however, is but feebly achieved; for the most part, terror reigns. It is toward the end of the third piece that the diffused anarchy of the series begins to gather to a head in the arch-anarch whose remorseless climb to the throne through the blood of his nearest relatives, with his ultimate destruction and the dawning of better times, provides the theme of *Richard III*. The impressiveness of Richard's cruelty is set off by a pathetic treatment of his victims. Clarence relates his fearful dream and then falls asleep, just before the entrance of the murderers in the

first act. The pathetic treatment of the innocent princes I have already described. But Anne is not so presented as to command our respect; while the railings and lamentations of the women in the fourth act are treated with grandiosity, not with pathos; the recapitulation of Richard's crimes through the apparition of his victims in his own and Richmond's dreams is stagey and, again, aims at the sublime rather than the pathetic. The tent scene which precedes the dream has a few intimate touches which anticipate the manner of the tent scene in *Julius Caesar*; but of course it is only a qualified sympathy that can be aroused for Richard. Horror and admiration toward Richard, rather than pity for his victims, sets the key throughout.

In *King John* the theme of pitiful childhood, introduced in the preceding play, is more broadly developed. The fourth act concerns itself almost entirely with the fate of Arthur. The character of the unhappy princeling has many winning nuances and the famous Hubert scene, a penetrating pathos. Constance, on the other hand, rails and laments somewhat after the fashion of Richard's upbraiders, and is, on the whole, ineffective. Arthur is not so associated with the king in our minds as to give the pathos of his fate a sufficiently poignant bearing on the tragedy of the latter; the Bastard further complicates our sympathies; and the play produces, at best, but a mixed effect. *Richard II*, in my opinion, shows evidences of an effort on the dramatist's part to remedy this defect

of the preceding play. The recent tendency is to despise the character of Richard rather more, I think, than Shakespeare intended, and possibly, also, to value more highly than he meant the qualities of Richard's successful adversary, the "efficient" and politic Bolingbroke. I am confident that he intended the great deposition scene which occupies most of the fourth act to produce a genuinely pathetic effect. If he fails it is because the means which he employed to regain our sympathy for "Richard, that sweet lovely rose," are insufficient to cope with the contempt previously aroused through his pitiless unbaring of the mixed sentimentalism and heartlessness of Richard's character. I wonder, by the way, whether anyone has thought to mention the connection, implicit but not stated, between Richard's unusual physical beauty and the frailties of his character. It is profoundly done, and I do not remember to have seen it touched upon.

The matter which is vital to this discussion, however, is not the loss of our sympathies, but the means by which they are sought to be regained. The appeal to our physical senses, just alluded to, is one. Richard's charm of fancy is another. The partial failure in this respect is not due entirely, I believe, to a fault of intention, but to a faulty exuberance in Shakespeare's own manner at this period of which abundant examples can be found in the speech of other characters in the same play and in other nearly contemporary plays, notably *Romeo and Juliet*. To the same end,

Shakespeare took a considerable liberty with historical fact in developing Richard's child wife into the "weeping queen" of this play, obviously for the specific purpose of elaborating the pathos of Richard's history. The deposition scene is immediately preceded by that "beautiful islet of repose", as Coleridge called it, the garden scene in which the queen overhears the Gardener and his servant gossiping of Richard's overthrow while they mend the shrubs. The writing is not Shakespeare's best, but a glance at it will reveal that timing, tone, and accessories foretell his later way of doing the thing. Here and in the parting with Richard which immediately follows the deposition, the fictitious queen bears herself with the sweetness and propriety due to pathos, and very unlike the women of the preceding histories; and some of Richard's loveliest, most dignified and—though a little marred by self-pity—least affected words are spoken to her:

Join not with grief, fair woman, do not so,
To make my end too sudden: learn, good soul,
To think our former state a happy dream;
From which awak'd, the truth of what we are
Shows us but this. I am sworn brother, sweet,
To grim Necessity, and he and I
Will keep a league till death. Hie thee to France
And cloister thee in some religious house:
Our holy lives must win a new world's crown
Which our profane hours here have stricken down.

His next lines have even greater simplicity and spiritual beauty, reminding us of Lear to Cordelia under somewhat similar circumstances. One more

attempt to rally our hearts to Richard is made when the groom of the stables visits him, just before his death, to talk of "roan Barbary". However these things "be overdone or come tardy off", one sees that the method pursued is that of Shakespeare.

During the four or five years following *Richard II*, if the now accepted chronology of the plays be correct, a large share of Shakespeare's energy went into the creation of comedy and a large element of comedy invades the remaining histories. Yet, notwithstanding Falstaff and his comic retinue, the main upshot of these plays is not comic, nor is it precisely tragic; it is heroic. Each of the plays of the Henry V trilogy ends in some species of triumph. The "Shakespeare's ideal king" business has undoubtedly been greatly overdone with respect to Henry V; but the fact remains that he is the only one of England's "royal kings" who, in Shakespeare's portrayal, bears the brunt of the heroic life unbroken. It is in showing us the wrecks that strew the path of this royal progress that pathos finds employment, usually in an admixture with comedy. In the first piece it is Hotspur for whom our sympathy is built up through close revelations of his absurd but lovable nature, especially in the two scenes with his wife. Lady Percy's "In faith, I'll break thy little finger, Harry", when he refuses to divulge the secret of his disquiet, and her "Wouldst thou have thy head broken?" when his wagging tongue insists on interrupting the music, are taking reminders of this

side of our acquaintance with Hotspur. In the end he is "food for—" "For worms brave Percy", and the other Harry gently lays his colours over the mangled face. But a moment later this senseless clay is the victim of Falstaff's gross buffoonery,—a giant irony, too strong for some weak stomachs. "Did these bones cost no more the breeding, than to play at loggats with 'em?"

The pathos of the next piece centers in the king and culminates in the bedside scene of the fourth act, in which his weary heart receives its mortal shock. The dramatist's care to preserve the pathetic value here is shown by the nice management through which the actual death of the king is made to take place off the stage. At the end of the piece King Henry V, crowned, crosses the stage in all the panoply of costly state. This is one of the places in Shakespeare where criticism has often gone astray and where over-perception of a small point may easily lead us so; where perception of his main dramatic intention is all-important. Falstaff is there to greet the new king. He hails him: "My king! My Jove! I speak to thee, my heart!" Then come Henry's apparently heartless words of rejection, containing not one hint of tenderness or regret for their nights and suppers of the gods. To the stinging reproaches of the king, Falstaff offers no interruption or reply; but after the king's exit, he has this line: "Justice Shallow, I owe you a thousand pound". Professor Moulton appears to see in this brief speech only another rebound of Falstaff's irrepressible waggery. "The

meeting has come, and the blow has fallen; we turn to hear the first words of a crushed man: and what we hear is one more flash of the old humour". Surely, this is only one side of the matter and not, perhaps, the most important one. The subsequent history of Falstaff shows he was hard hit; but

(So tight he kept his lips compressed,
Scarce any blood came through)
You looked twice ere you saw his breast
Was all but shot in two.

This second look, Professor Bradley has taken, and he has given us the result of his observations in the fine lecture on *The Rejection of Falstaff*. And yet I am not quite satisfied. Professor Bradley is prone to admit that Shakespeare has made a mistake; that he has let Falstaff run away with him. I cannot think so. It is neither Falstaff's humour nor his pathos, nor is it Henry's hardness of heart which impresses me; it is the stern heroism of the moment. Harry the Fifth is crowned and what does it mean? Why, from one point of view, that his old friend Falstaff cannot or will not pay his debts. It is comic or pathetic, as you will; but what are comedy and pathos to the relentless soul whose powers are knit up for achievement? At last, England has such a king. How squalid, for the moment, seems Falstaff with his crew in the little street; the great wit and the gay heart are silenced; stern justice speaks; it is the heroic life;

The sword, the mace, the crown imperial,
The intertissued robe of gold and pearl

sweep on and leave him blinking.

The last play of the trilogy is all triumph. No, not quite all; Shakespeare did not altogether forget "plump Jack", though, so far as we have any evidence, Henry did; in the midst of other business, he found time to lift the curtain for one final glimpse of the banished humorist. "Lift the curtain" is a vile phrase, for that is precisely what the dramatist did not do, but veiled the scene behind Mistress Quickly's magic huddle of words. It is the chief stroke of pathos in the play and, as everyone knows, one of the great achievements of Shakespeare's art. No words can do it justice; and I will not try. The play proceeds with the triumphs of Henry, in statecraft, in war, in gambols with his men, in councils with his generals. He is the sufficient king. Finally, we are permitted to be present at a royal wooing. The situation is a droll one, in a way. Katherine is, of course, a prize of war; softness, under the circumstances, would be an offense. Katherine's sparring is a credit to her race and to her sex. And Henry carries it off well, with engaging liveliness and soundness of heart. It is, none the less, a diplomatic wooing, and when he takes his largess of her lips, it is in full presence and "the kettle drum and trumpet bray out the triumph of his pledge". *Le Roi boit*. It is the heroic life. So ends the historic series.

In *Richard II*, Shakespeare had been compelled to go out of his way to secure the feminine accessory to his pathetic design. He was content, in the Henry plays, to rest his pathos largely upon mas-

culine interests. In so doing he acquired, no doubt, the full compass in the presentation of male character and the ease and strength in guiding the sweep and manipulating the irony of large and stern events which we feel so powerfully in the main movements of the tragedies. It was his practice in romantic comedy that taught him the softness and refinement in feminine portraiture and the noble handling of the private emotions which stood him so well in hand in the keying of his scenes of pathos. The comedies are love stories and the elaboration of them led to more delicate realizations of feminine deportment and to an intertwining and contrasting of masculine and feminine interests. Few of the tragedies are love stories, but he continues in them to attach the fate of a heroine to the fate of the hero; the two fall together. *Timon* is the only exception, and its theme is one whose swift malice allows pathos no quarter. But *Timon* is un-Shakespearean; he alone dies like a dog; all the others die like men,—or devils.

Again, as most of the histories represent the triumphs of men, so most of the comedies represent the triumphs of women. This is perhaps too whimsical; but at least Shakespeare seldom or never ends in a minor key. If he seems to do so, it is because of some lapse of sympathy between him and us. And after the earliest comedies, he is seldom contented with a mere intellectual disentanglement for the conclusion of a piece. His conception of the last stage of a comedy was of a revel elaborated into a full movement, a thing of

joy, of sheer delight. This conception first finds adequate expression in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which ends, first, seemingly, with the broad burlesque of the mechanics,

Which when I saw rehears'd, I must confess
Made mine eyes water; but more merry tears
The passion of loud laughter never shed,

and finally, in unparalleled contrast, with the fairies, singing and dancing trippingly and scattering through the hushed, moonlit house to bless the bridal beds. Need one mention the drench of love-making, music, and tipsy moonlight in fountained gardens, with which the last act of the *Merchant* dawns, the tinkling merriment of the ring-play, the nuptial tone of its close. "There is, sure, another flood toward, and these couples are coming to the ark" cries envious Jacques at the opening of another of these hymeneal finales.

This world of beauty and radiant delight could not be half so precious, note, after two hours of mere fun. It is the dark menace escaped some few moments back, the sentience of life's capacity for pain, the knowledge of some nobleness lately revealed and underlying it all, that carries us so full-heartedly into this revel of pure joy, this glow of nuptial rosiness. Shakespeare's scheme of comedy involves the subjecting of his heroine to some sharp trial which calls on her inmost qualities for its endurance or solution, and in the process of it awakens our sympathy and our admiration. Two ends are achieved: *we* are touched, and *she* wins her title to her lover.

The deepening of his pathos at this point is a marked characteristic of Shakespeare's progress in comic writing. The earlier comedies either make little attempt at pathos or are unsuccessful in achieving it. Portia's encounter with Shylock is the first set scene of importance which has this character; she touches us by her capacity and her eloquence, and the saving, not of Antonio merely, but of her own happiness from the peril that threatens it. The accusation of Hero in *Much Ado* is not her trial alone; it is the trial of Beatrice, in whom we are far more genuinely interested. When her loyalty to her cousin comes out arrayed in a fiery but half-humorous indignation so characteristic of her, the revealing moment has been met and we join Benedick in falling head over heels in love with her. So, when Rosalind swoons at the recital of Oliver and the sight of the blood-stained handkerchief, we are reassured of the deeper sentiency which underlies her sentimental persiflage; henceforth, she may "commend her counterfeiting to him" as much as she likes, we know better. In short, we are ready to conduct her to the altar.

But let me not imitate those insatiate authors who pick every bone and leave their readers to feast on the grinning remnants. What I hope I have shown is: that in all the best and most characteristic of Shakespeare's mature plays we may be conscious of a masterly manipulation of key with a view to totality of effect, and that in this emotional scheme the effect of pathos has a dis-

tinct place; that it is usually most broadly developed in the fourth act, where the effect of pathos, aside from its value in and for itself, serves as a preparation and relief for the major movement of the finale, whether that major movement be one of delight, as in comedy, of heroic triumph, as in some of the histories, or of ineffable grandeur, as in the great tragedies. I have further suggested, though I have not sought to develop this point fully, that, in the writing of his comedies and histories, Shakespeare gradually acquired both the mastery of the elements of pathos and the knowledge of its most effective position in the dramatic scheme which he applied in all his later tragedies. If anyone should be reluctant to accept these conclusions as impairing some dearer conception of "Fancy's child, warbling his native woodnotes wild", I recommend to him Polixenes' consolation to Perdita, when, in a charming revelation of youthfulness, she expresses disdain for the carnations and streak'd gillyvors, because she has heard it said that, in their breeding, the skill of man has meddled with "great creating nature":

this is an art
Which does mend nature, change it rather, but
The art itself is nature.

Because Shakespeare's pathos occupies, in a sense, a subordinate place in his scheme of dramatic representation, and perhaps of life, it is not therefore of subordinate importance. When we compare the comedies of Shakespeare with those of

Jonson, or of other powerful comic writers of his time, we find them by nothing more distinguished than by their warm and intimate appeals to our gentler affections, which, more than anything else, give them their immortal aspect of life and friendliness. Others approach Shakespeare in shrewdness of observation and analysis, and, barring this one quality, in wisdom; but no one is so intimate and kindly. The same, to some degree, may be said of his tragedy. The finest parts of Webster approach the great scenes of Shakespeare in awfulness and grandiosity, but lack their depth; they want his masterful kindness, which, in the midst of the most bewildering agitation, adds a sweetness to sorrow, adds, in short, the indescribable Shakespearean touch. Whether this be true or not, there is little question that this element in Shakespeare has much to do with the breadth of his appeal. Many escape his humour, and some his sublimity; there are few who do not yield their worship to his divine tenderness.

THE FUNCTION OF THE SONGS IN SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

JOHN ROBERT MOORE.

Queen. What imports this song?

Ophelia. Say you? Nay, pray you, mark.

HAMLET, IV, v, 27-8.

It has long been customary for enthusiastic critics to speak of the Elizabethan dramas as "a nest of singing birds," and of the songs as "exquisite nosegays" of "charming lyrics," which we might fancy to be "the echo of a bird's voice in spring."

Upon examination of the plays before 1590, we discover little reason for this adulation. Broadly speaking, there was on the Elizabethan stage no dramatic song before Shakespeare. The plays of Kyd and Marlowe (save for a stage direction in the doubtful *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, and a scrap of mock-liturgical chanting in *Doctor Faustus*) are without songs. Lodge and Greene, exquisite lyrists in their novels, have left nothing of the sort in their plays, if we except the curious *Looking Glass for London and England*, which has been ascribed to them jointly. The lyrics formerly attributed to Lyly have, in recent years, been assigned with something like finality to a later century and

a later hand.¹ The songs of Peele—aside from his most famous one, which occurs in a non-dramatic poem—are found chiefly in the pastoral play, *The Arraignment of Paris*, and are mostly pastoral poems, echo-songs of love-lorn shepherds, essentially undramatic in character. Peele's only tragedy, like the tragedies of his contemporaries, is entirely bare of songs.

True, the song, as a comic device upon the stage, is of great antiquity:

The origin of song and comedy is in the English drama referable to much the same conditions, chief among them a desire to amuse. If we turn back as far as the moralities and interludes we shall find the few snatches of song, there indicated, commonly put into the mouth of the roisterer, the vice, or the devil; though godly songs are not altogether wanting.²

Whether in the court and academic plays or in the popular performances, and whether sung by the children of the chapel or by the clown of the innyard, the incidental lyric was looked upon as something external to the course of the action. It was considered separable from its context, to be printed in the appendix or indicated only by a stage direction, to be used in different plays at the capricious will of a popular singer or between acts at the demand of pit or gallery, or to be extemporized on the stage by any half-illiterate Tarleton to cap the rhymes of a bantering spectator. The commonest types were prosaic bits of Puritanic moralizing (before the players were

¹ Greg, *The Authorship of the Songs in Lyly's Plays*, *Modern Language Review*, I, No. 1; and Feuillerat, *John Lyly*, p. 403f., note 1.

² Schelling, *English Literature During the Lifetime of Shakespeare*, p. 201.

banished from Puritanic London), drinking catches, and songs by the clown.

Between the acts dancing and singing, or both combined, were introduced. After the play the clown came to the front and gave a jig, generally to his own accompaniment upon pipe or tabor. Sometimes he had an accompaniment played for him, in which case he generally sang as he danced.¹

At its best, the song on the popular stage was a thing for diversion, a part of the "inexplicable dumb-shows and noise."

Noise and clamour were the regular accompaniments of all forms of entertainment. Though some writers object to the ill-manners and filth of play-houses, all assume noise to be quite in place. All the stage-manager had to do was to provide plenty of it. In Greene's "Alphonsus of Arragon" there are twenty-five separate directions for the sounding of drums and trumpets, besides some half-dozen marching entries of soldiery, of course accompanied by military music.²

So much for buffoonery and incidental music. We may go a step farther, and say that until 1600 there was (outside Shakespeare) little or no functional use of the song, in the plays that have come down to us. Nash's *Summer's Last Will and Testament* is a drama only by courtesy, and the earlier plays of Jonson and Marston are without songs; Chapman was never a successful lyricist, and Fletcher, Middleton, and Dekker had yet to achieve note in writing for the stage. But in this last decade of the century, Shakespeare employed lyrics with uniform success in all of his plays except *The Comedy of Errors*, certain of the histories (*Henry VI*, *King John*, *Richard II*, and *Richard III*),

¹ Elson, *Shakespeare in Music*, p. 319.

² Sheavyn, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, p. 202.

and the doubtful tragedy *Titus Andronicus*. Furthermore, all of the later plays contain songs, aside from three which deal with remote periods of ancient history (*Timon of Athens*, *Pericles*, and *Coriolanus*).¹

The practice of his predecessors and contemporaries, such as it was, may have prompted his use of the dramatic lyric; the ever-increasing popularity of the song-books and of the art of singing assured him of an appreciative audience, if not actually one which demanded singing as a prime feature of the performance; but it was Shakespeare's unique achievement to employ the interspersed lyrics, hitherto superfluous or altogether irrelevant in Elizabethan drama, to advance the action, localize or enrich the scene, or depict a character, and at times to express the emotion of the noblest tragic moments.

* * *

* * *

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We have seen that Shakespeare inherited the tradition of songs by the clown, the vice, or the devil. It was expected that madmen would sing on the stage, and that the fool would cap Tom o' Bedlam's verse (*King Lear*, III, vi, 27ff.), all to the infinite delight of the groundlings; that fairies and witches would converse in a peculiar strain, half-incantation, half-song; and that other songs would be introduced at the will of playwright, manager, or singer, upon the one condition that

¹ *Henry VIII* contains the song "Orpheus with his lyre"; but that is excluded from this discussion as the work, presumably, of Fletcher, since it occurs in a scene which is usually conceded to him.

there be an abundance of noise. Shakespeare accepted the legacy of tradition, but developed the fool's bauble of song into a magician's wand.

In the large, there are in Shakespeare no songs devoid of dramatic function. Where the scene itself is of trivial consequence, the song serves to enliven the conversational by-play, as when the clown toys with Malvolio in the dungeon (*Twelfth Night*, IV, ii, 78ff.):

Clown. (*Singing.*) "Hey, Robin, jolly Robin,
Tell me how thy lady does."

Malvolio. Fool!

Clo. "My lady is unkind, perdy."

Mal. Fool!

Clo. "Alas, why is she so?"

Mal. Fool, I say!

Clo. "She loves another"—Who calls, ha?

↓ It is used by the nimble Moth to twit the heavy Don Armado with his love (*Love's Labour's Lost*, I, ii, 104ff.):

If she be made of white and red,
Her faults will ne'er be known,
For blushing cheeks by faults are bred
And fears by pale white shown.

At times it assumes the form of flyting or of capping rhymes, as in Jacques' perversion of Amiens' song (*As You Like It*, II, v, 52ff.), and in the wit-combat between Rosalind and Boyet (*Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, i, 127ff.);

Ros. Thou canst not hit it, hit it, hit it,
Thou canst not hit it, my good man.
(*Exit (Ros.)*)

Boyet. An I cannot, cannot, cannot,
An I cannot, another can.

The comment of Costard, which follows, is sufficiently explanatory:

By my troth, most pleasant. How both did fit it!

At times the dramatist uses the song in by-play to secure the most humorous scenes, amusing not for buffoonery but for revelation of human nature. The cowardly Pistol sings (or recites songs) of the peril of war (*Henry V*, III, ii); the boisterous Bottom sings in the forest to show his skulking comrades that he is unafraid (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, i, 128ff.). Sir Hugh Evans, the Welsh parson, half dead with fear as he awaits his opponent at the duelling place, sings to keep up his courage, and gets Marlowe confused with the Psalter (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, III, i, 11ff.):

Evans. Pless my soul, how full of chollors I am, and trempling of mind! I shall be glad if he have deceived me. How melancholies I am! . . . Pless my soul! (Sings.)

"To shallow rivers, to whose falls
Melodious birds sing madrigals;
There will we make our peds of roses,
And a thousand fragrant posies.
To shallow"—

Mercy on me! I have a great dispositions to cry. (Sings.)

"Melodious birds sing madrigals"—

"When as I sat in Pabylon"—

"And a thousand vagram posies.

"To shallow," etc.

(*Re-enter Simple.*)

Sim. Yonder he is coming; this way, Sir Hugh.

Evans. He's welcome. (Sings.)

"To shallow rivers, to whose falls"—

Heaven prosper the right! What weapons has he?

Indeed, to an Elizabethan audience there was something exceedingly droll about the singing of any Welshman. Peele used the device in his disjointed *Edward I*; and Shakespeare takes it up with real effectiveness in *Henry IV* (Part I, III, i, 233ff.), where an amusing passage, vividly portraying Hotspur in an idle hour, fills up an otherwise tedious interval:

(The music plays.)

Hotspur. Now I perceive the devil understands Welsh;
And 'tis no marvel he is so humorous.
By'r lady, he is a good musician.

Lady Percy. Then should you be nothing but musical, for you are altogether governed by humours. Lie still, ye thief, and hear the lady sing in Welsh.

Hot. I had rather hear Lady, my brach, howl in Irish.

....

....

....

(Here the lady sings a Welsh song.)

Hot. Come, Kate, I'll have your song too.

Lady P. Not mine, in good sooth.

Hot. Not yours, in good sooth! Heart, you swear like a comfit-maker's wife....

Swear me, Kate, like a lady as thou art,
A good mouth-filling oath, and leave "in sooth,"
And such protest of pepper-gingerbread,
To velvet guards and Sunday-citizens.
Come, sing.

Lady P. I will not sing.

Hot. 'Tis the next way to turn tailor, or be red-breast teacher. An the indentures be drawn, I'll away within these two hours; and so, come in when ye will. *(Exit.)*

It will be observed that we have as yet met with no songs by the clown. The clown songs usually serve for special purposes, and at times express the most serious thoughts. Shakespeare's clown was a good musician who sang for all occasions, and we shall be obliged to consider his songs in

the order of their respective functions. A similar transformation may be seen in the traditional drinking-song, represented in *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Henry IV (Part II)*, *Othello*, and *Twelfth Night*. Only the drinking-songs of Falstaff and Sir Toby are free from the powerful overtones of dramatic significance with which Shakespeare charged his music; the other Bacchic passages are prophetic of impending disaster. Even the scene in *Twelfth Night* (II, iii, 36ff.) serves for characterization more than for convivial humor. There is something pathetically human about the gross old knight and his withered dupe, sitting in the drunken gravity of midnight to hear the clown sing of the fresh love of youth:

Clown. Would you have a love-song, or a song of good life?

Sir Toby. A love-song, a love-song.

Sir Andrew. Ay, ay. I care not for good life.

Clo. (*Sings.*)

O mistress mine, where are you roaming?

O, stay and hear, your true love's coming,

.....

In delay there lies no plenty;

Then come kiss me, sweet and twenty,

Youth's a stuff will not endure.

Sir And. A mellifluous voice, as I am true knight.

Sir To. A contagious breath.

Sir And. Very sweet and contagious, i' faith.

Sir To. To hear by the nose, it is dulcet in contagion. But shall we make the welkin dance indeed? Shall we rouse the night-owl in a catch that will draw three souls out of one weaver? Shall we do that?

Sir And. An you love me, let's do't. I am dog at a catch.

The song is used once as an epilogue (*Twelfth Night*, V, i, 398ff.), when Feste, most lyrical of

clowns, is given a chance to commend himself by his voice as well as his legs; and it serves numerous times to bring a character on or off the stage. Rosalind escapes from her word-combat with Boyet in the song quoted previously; the two witch songs in *Macbeth* (III, v, and IV, ii)—not the familiar chanted speeches—are solely for the purpose of facilitating exits; and Autolycus and Ariel, most musical and most unlike of Shakespeare's singers, come and go in song. At times the singing exit marks the close of a dialogue or scene, as when Feste echoes the interludes (*Twelfth Night*, IV, ii, 130ff.):

I am gone, sir,
And anon, sir,
I'll be with you again,
In a trice,
Like to the old Vice, etc.

At times the singing exit marks the conclusion of a change in one of the characters, as when Caliban has fallen completely under the influence of drink and the wiles of man (*The Tempest*, II, ii, 182ff.):

Caliban. (*Sings drunkenly.*)
Farewell, master; farewell, farewell!
Trinculo. A howling monster; a drunken monster!
Cal. No more dams I'll make for fish;
Nor fetch in firing
At requiring;
Nor scrape trenchering, nor wash dish.
'Ban, 'Ban, Cacaliban
Has a new master, get a new man.
Freedom, hey-day! hey-day, freedom! freedom, hey-day,
freedom!
Stephano. O brave monster! Lead the way.
(*Exeunt.*)

A surprisingly large number of the songs serve¹ for what might be called pagan ritual, a fact which is especially conspicuous because Christian ritual is absent. This class may be said to include the two witch songs in *Macbeth*, and the fairy and mock-fairy songs in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *The Tempest*; but it is represented more accurately by the songs which occur in special ceremonies, as in *Much Ado About Nothing* (V, iii), *As You Like It* (V, iv), and *Cymbeline* (IV, ii), and *The Tempest* (IV, i). That fairies and witches should sing was a convention sufficiently established; but the frequent occurrence of masque or other musical ceremonial in the middle and later plays is less easily explained. No doubt it is due, in part, to the taste of the masque-loving age, and (especially if *The Tempest* was written or revised for court performance) to the passion which King James and his queen entertained for musical pageantry. These passages must have been effective on the stage, however excrescent they may seem to a modern reader,¹ as in *Much Ado* (V, iii, entire scene), where Don Pedro and Claudio, with attendants, enter the church at night, bearing torches, to honor the memory of Hero, whom they consider slain by slander. An epitaph is hung on the tomb, and this song is sung:

Pardon, goddess of the night,
Those that slew thy virgin knight;

¹ The song which follows is not without dramatic function, however, since it is part of the friar's plan for arousing remorse in Claudio (IV, i, 213).

For the which, with songs of woe,
 Round about her tomb they go.
 Midnight, assist our moan;
 Help us to sigh and groan,
 Heavily, heavily.
 Graves, yawn and yield your dead,
 Till death be uttered,
 Heavily, heavily.

This leads us to the consideration of songs for descriptive effect and atmosphere. The duet between Spring and Winter in *Love's Labour's Lost* (V, ii) needs no quoting. The lark song in *Cymbeline* (II, iii) ushers in the full beauty of dawn, strangely contrasted with the scene just preceding. As Dr. Furness remarks, it comes "laden with heaven's pure, refreshing breath after the stifling presence of Iachimo in Imogen's chamber." Perhaps the most notable examples of this device are the songs in *As You Like It* (II, v and vii; IV, ii; and V, iii). Here we feel no lack of painted scenery. The sylvan surroundings of the exiled courtier, the character of his comrades, and the misfortunes of his noble patron are condensed into such lines as these (II, vii, 174ff.):

Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
 Thou art not so unkind
 As man's ingratitude;
 Thy tooth is not so keen,
 Because thou art not seen,
 Although thy breath be rude.
 Heigh-ho! sing, heigh ho! unto the green holly.
 Most friendship is feigning, most loving mere folly.
 Then, heigh-ho, the holly!
 This life is most jolly.

With great frequency songs are employed chiefly for characterization. Pandarus betrays himself

by his mock-song of love (*Troilus and Cressida*, III, i), and Mercutio draws fire from the old nurse by his insinuating snatches (*Romeo and Juliet*, II, iv). On the other hand, Benedick ridicules not love itself, but his own power of song, while he is awaiting Beatrice (*Much Ado*, V, ii, 26ff.):

(Sings.) The god of love,
That sits above,
And knows me, and knows me,
How pitiful I deserve,—

I mean in singing; but in loving, Leander the good swimmer, Troilus the first employer of panders, and a whole bookful of these quondam carpet-mongers, whose names yet run smoothly in the even road of a blank verse, why, they were never so truly turn'd over and over as my poor self in love. Marry, I cannot show it in rhyme. I have tried. I can find out no rhyme to "lady" but "baby," an innocent rhyme; for "scorn," "horn," a hard rhyme; "school," "fool," a babbling rhyme; very ominous endings. No, I was not born under a rhyming planet, nor I cannot woo in festival terms.

The melancholy Duke Orsino moves to melancholy music. At the opening of the play he is listening to a mournful air, and in the next act he calls for a despairing song of love (*Twelfth Night*, II, iv, 52ff.):

Come away, come away, death,
And in sad cypress let me be laid.
Fly away, fly away, breath;
I am slain by a fair cruel maid.
My shroud of white, etc.

The songs in *As You Like It*, as we have suggested, serve for characterization as well as description. The cynical strain in Jacques is nowhere better shown than in his parody of Amiens' song of sylvan contentment (II, v, 52ff.):

This is the language of the stable after the song of the lark—violent contrast, but surely vivid characterization. We are not surprised, shortly after, when the speaker plans a terrible revenge upon Imogen.

The grief for the supposed death of Juliet is brought out by Peter's unsuccessful appeal to the musicians to play something to cheer him (*Romeo and Juliet*, IV, v, 102ff.). Othello will not hear the musicians whom Cassio has brought to his house (*Othello*, III, i). In similar fashion, but far more effectively, the gentler side of Brutus' nature, which distinguishes the patriot from his heartless confederate, is developed in his comment on a blank song, just before the ghost appears in the tent (*Julius Caesar*, IV, iii, 255ff.):

Brutus. Bear with me, good boy, I am much forgetful.
Canst thou hold up thy heavy eyes a while,
And touch thy instrument a strain or two?

Lucius. Ay, my lord, an 't please you.

Brutus. It does, my boy.
I trouble thee too much, but thou art willing.

....

....

....
(*Music, and a song.*)

Brutus. This is a sleepy tune. O murderous slumber,
Lay'st thou thy leaden mace upon my boy,
That plays thee music? Gentle knave, good-night;
I will not do thee so much wrong to wake thee.
If thou dost nod, thou break'st thy instrument.
I'll take it from thee; and, good boy, good-night.

The ballad snatches in the mouth of Ophelia, weirdly contrasting with the secluded innocence of her life, indicate clearly the joint causes of her derangement. The objectionable ballads, doubt-

less childhood recollections of a nurse's songs, are discordant echoes of Hamlet's defection. The clown's blundering version of "The Aged Lover Renounceth Love" shows his illiteracy, besides acting as a melancholy reminder of the unfortunate lovers, as a barrel-organ plays old tunes that call up painful memories. The character of Stephano is outlined by his songs the moment he comes upon the stage (*The Tempest*, II, ii). His degrading influence upon Caliban is foreshadowed; it is only a step before the poor creature reels off the stage to attempt a murder, singing of new-found freedom. The character of Ariel is revealed to us almost entirely through song. He is a Greek messenger, telling us of feats which he performs offstage; but he does not lift a hand in our presence, except to attire Prospero (V, i), and even that is done to music. Much the same is true of Autolycus; in two successive scenes he gives us no less than seven different songs or fragments, highly characteristic of his joyous roguery, which raises his whole-hearted rascality so far above the common level that it partakes of the out-door freshness of innocence (*The Winter's Tale*, IV, iii, 132ff.):

Jog on, jog on, the foot-path way,
And merrily hent the stile-a;
A merry heart goes all the day,
Your sad heart tires in a mile-a.

When the songs were already familiar to the audience, they must have served for a naturalistic

and humanizing effect. The insane daughter of a Danish courtier seems cold and distant; but a young girl singing ballads and babbling the folklore of flowers must have been very comprehensible to an Elizabethan audience. A similar effect must have been secured by the clown's song in *Hamlet*, Sir Hugh's version of "The Passionate Shepherd" in *The Merry Wives*, and all the fragments of balladry that appear in the plays.

At times the song expresses, directly or indirectly, the judgment of characters or audience, or any pertinent truth. The pretended fairies in *The Merry Wives* censure the licentious Falstaff (V, v); and the Fool's songs, uttered when prose counsel would not have been tolerated, are the first emphatic hint of the king's real condition (*King Lear*, I, iv). Even more effective is the broken passage of folk-song put in the mouth of the pretended madman, when Lear's estate has reached its lowest, and he is forced to enter a hovel for shelter from the storm (III, iv, 187ff.):

Child Rowland to the dark tower came;
His word was still," etc.

There is reason to suppose that the groundlings were amused by the incoherent utterances of Edgar. If there is more in it than entertainment, the credit is Shakespeare's.

The song is frequently used to incite characters to or against action. Bassanio's choice of the leaden casket is directed by the song of Fancy

(*The Merchant of Venice*, III, ii), as is indicated by his soliloquy, beginning (73ff.):

So may the outward shows be least themselves;
The world is still deceiv'd with ornament.

Iago sings two songs to incite Cassio to become drunk before the brawl with Roderigo. Iago remains sober throughout (*Othello*, II, iii, 66ff.):

Cassio. 'Fore God, they have given me a rouse already.

Montano. Good faith, a little one; not past a pint, as I am
a soldier.

Iago. Some wine, ho!

(*Sings.*) "And let me the canakin clink, clink;

And let me the canakin clink.

A soldier's a man;

O, man's life's but a span;

Why, then, let a soldier drink."

Some wine, boys!

Cas. 'Fore God, an excellent song.

Let's have no more of this; let's to our affairs.—God forgive us our sins!—Gentlemen, let's look to our business. Do not think, gentlemen, that I am drunk. This is my ancient; this is my right hand, and this is my left. I am not drunk now; I can stand well enough, and I speak well enough.

And so he staggers off to his ruinous meeting with Roderigo. Two snatches are sung by Petruchio, as part of his system for breaking his wife's temper (*The Taming of the Shrew*, IV, i). Titania is put to sleep and awakened by singing (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i; III, i), though the latter is the accidental result of Bottom's song to show his courage. Still, it serves as an effective introduction of the metamorphosed weaver to the enamored queen. Ariel's invisible music lulls the shipwrecked courtiers to sleep, and permits the

conspiracy of Antonio and Sebastian to develop; his song in Gonzalo's ear arouses the old man in time to save the king (*The Tempest*, II, i). Indeed, as we have said, Ariel's invisible power is made manifest to us through song alone. When the drunken conspirators come to seek the life of Prospero, they attempt to sing (III, ii, 133ff.):

Caliban. That's not the tune.

(*Ariel plays the tune on a tabor and pipe.*)

Stephano. What is this same?

Trinculo. This is the tune of our catch, played by the picture of Nobody.

.....

Cal. Be not afeard. The isle is full of noises,
Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not.
Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
Will hum about mine ears, and sometime voices
That, if I then had wak'd after long sleep,
Will make me sleep again; and then, in dreaming,
The clouds methought would open and show riches
Ready to drop upon me, that, when I wak'd,
I cried to dream again.

Ste. This will prove a brave kingdom to me, where I shall have my music for nothing.

Cal. When Prospero is destroy'd.

Ste. That shall be by and by. I remember the story.

Trin. The sound is going away. Let's follow it, and after do our work.

So they are led into a filthy pool. Ariel draws Ferdinand from the coast to Miranda's presence, by singing "Come unto these yellow sands"; and he persuades the prince of his father's death, thus recalling his grief and preparing him for a new and unreserved affection (I, ii, 396ff.):

Ariel's Song.
Full fathom five thy father lies;

Of his bones are coral made;
 Those are pearls that were his eyes;
 Nothing of him that doth fade
 But doth suffer a sea-change
 Into something rich and strange.
 Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell:

.....
Ferdinand. This ditty does remember my drown'd father.

.....
 He does hear me;
 And that he does I weep. Myself am Naples,
 Who with mine eyes, never since at ebb, beheld
 The King my father wreck'd.

Miranda. Alack, for mercy!

.....
Prospero. At the first sight
 They have chang'd eyes. Delicate Ariel,
 I'll set thee free for this.

At times the song is used to heighten the emotion of a special situation, as well as to incite to action, as in Ophelia's ravings (*Hamlet*, IV, v, 164ff.):

"They bore him barefac'd on the bier;
 Hey non nonny, nonny, hey nonny;
 And on his grave rains many a tear,"—

Fare you well, my dove!

Laertes. Hadst thou thy wits and didst persuade revenge,
 It could not move thus.

.....
Ophelia. There's rosemary, that's for remembrance; pray,
 love, remember; and there is pansies, that's for thoughts.

.....
 (*Sings.*)

"And will he not come again?
 And will he not come again?
 No, no, he is dead;
 Go to thy death-bed;
 He never will come again."

.....
Laertes. Do you see this, you gods?

And when Claudius suggests that Laertes kill

Hamlet, by fair fight or by poison, the young man is ready for either means of revenge.

At times the song serves for heightened emotion, without incitement to action. The songs of Edgar before the hovel serve this purpose (*King Lear*, III, iv, 187ff.). The serenade to Silvia is overheard by Julia, disguised in boy's clothing, and it gives her intense pain; for it is the token of her lover's falsehood, the libation which fickle Proteus is pouring on a new shrine (*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV, ii, 30ff.):

Host. Come, we'll have you merry. I'll bring you where you shall hear music and see the gentleman that you ask'd for.

Julia. But shall I hear him speak?

Host. Ay, that you shall.

Jul. That will be music. (*Music plays.*)

Host. Hark, hark!

Jul. Is he among these?

Host. Ay; but, peace! let's hear 'em.

Song.

Who is Silvia? What is she,

That all our swains commend her?

Holy, fair, and wise is she;

The heaven such grace did lend her,

That she might admired be.

.... .

Host. How now! are you sadder than you were before? How do you, man? The music likes you not.

Jul. You mistake; the musician likes me not.

Host. Why, my pretty youth?

Jul. He plays false, father.

Host. How? Out of tune on the strings?

Jul. Not so; but yet so false that he grieves my very heart-strings.

.... .

Host. Hark, what a fine change is in the music!

Jul. Ay, that change is the spite.

Host. You would have them always play but one thing?

Jul. I would always have one play but one thing.

The disconsolate grief of the deserted Mariana finds utterance in the song a boy sings for her at the moated grange (*Measure for Measure*, IV, i, 1ff.):

Take, O, take those lips away,
That so sweetly were forsworn;
And those eyes, the break of day,
Lights that do mislead the morn;
But my kisses bring again, bring again;
Seals of love, but seal'd in vain, seal'd in vain.

Of a similar kind is the dirge for Imogen in the forest. After hastening to meet Posthumus and finding that he has ordered her death, after being pursued by Cloten and drugged into insensibility by the cordial which the queen has sent her for poison, she lies as if dead. The poignancy of the situation is intensified by the fact that the singers are disguised princes, her brothers, ignorant of her birth and theirs, and their supposed father is a banished nobleman (*Cymbeline*, IV, ii, 258ff.):

Fear no more the heat o' the sun,
Nor the furious winter's rages;
Thou thy worldly task hast done,
Home art gone, and ta'en thy wages.
Golden lads and girls all must,
As chimney-sweepers, come to dust.

Fear no more the frown o' the great;
Thou art past the tyrant's stroke.
Care no more to clothe and eat;
To thee the reed is as the oak.

.....
Fear not slander, censure rash;
Thou hast finish'd joy and moan.

Not only is the song used to heighten the scene in which it occurs, but it may at the same time

foreshadow what is to come. The clown's song in *All's Well that Ends Well* (I, iii, 74ff.) possibly serves for this purpose; for Helena is the one good woman in ten. A clearer example, where frailty of the opposite sex is charged, is found in *Much Ado About Nothing*, where the song serves to foreshadow the jealousy of Claudio (II, iii, 64ff.):

Sigh no more, ladies, sigh no more,
Men were deceivers ever,
One foot in sea and one on shore,
To one thing constant never.
Then sigh not so, but let them go,
And be you blithe and bonny,
Converting all your sounds of woe
Into Hey nonny nonny.

Benedick. I pray God his bad voice bode no mischief.
I had as lief have heard the night-raven, come what plague
could have come after it.

Don Pedro. Yea, marry; dost thou hear, Balthasar? I pray
thee, get us some excellent music; for to-morrow night we would
have it at the Lady Hero's chamber-window.

In *Anthony and Cleopatra* (II, vii, 120ff.), the drinking song is rendered, with joined hands and drunken good fellowship, shortly before the final quarrel of the triumvirs. The forced air of conviviality but thinly covers the increasing animosity; the host of the evening is tempted to slay his guests and make himself lord of Rome, and the man who places the singers hand in hand for the song is no other than Enobarbus, who later deserts Anthony at his greatest need. Perhaps the most familiar example of this lyric foreboding is the song of Desdemona (*Othello*, IV, iii, 41ff.):

Desdemona. (Singing.)

"The poor soul sat sighing by a sycamore tree,
Sing all a green willow;
Her hand on her bosom, her head on her knee,
Sing willow, willow, willow.
The fresh streams ran by her, and murmur'd her moans;
Sing willow, willow, willow;
Her salt tears fell from her, and soft'ned the stones;

.....
Let nobody blame him, his scorn I approve,"—
Nay, that's not the next.—Hark! who is 't that knocks?

Emilia. It's the wind.

Des. (Singing.)

"I call'd my love false love; but what said he then?
Sing willow, willow, willow.

If I court moe women, you'll couch with moe men."—
So, get you gone; good-night. Mine eyes do itch;
Doth that bode weeping?

This song is beautifully echoed in the dying words of Emilia, which confirm Othello's resolution to slay himself (V, ii, 246ff.):

Emilia.

What did thy song bode, lady?
Hark, canst thou hear me? I will play the swan,
And die in music. (*Singing.*) "Willow, willow, willow!"—
Moor, she was chaste; she lov'd thee, cruel Moor;
So come my soul to bliss, as I speak true;
So speaking as I think, alas, I die.

Equally effective dramatically, though far less notable as poetry, are the songs of Master Silence which foreshadow the disgrace of Falstaff (*Henry IV, Part II, V, iii, 18ff.; v, 51ff.*):

Silence. (Singing.)

"Do nothing but eat, and make good cheer,
And praise God for the merry year,
When flesh is cheap and females dear,
And lusty lads roam here and there
So merrily,
And ever among so merrily."

Falstaff. There's a merry heart! Good Master Silence, I'll give you a health for that anon.

....

....

What, is the old king dead?

Pistpl. As nail in door. The things I speak are just.

Fal. Away, Bardolph! saddle my horse. Master Robert Shallow, choose what office thou wilt in the land, 'tis thine.... Carry Master Silence to bed. Master Shallow, my Lord Shallow,—be what thou wilt; I am Fortune's steward—get on my boots. We'll ride all night.

....

....

....

King. I know thee not, old man; fall to thy prayers.

How ill white hairs become a fool and jester!

I have long dream'd of such a kind of man,

So surfeit-swell'd, so old, and so profane;

But, being awak'd, I do despise my dream.

We have seen that Shakespeare was virtually the first Elizabethan dramatist to make systematic employment of the song for dramatic purposes; that he used either blank, fragmentary, or complete songs in all of the plays but nine, of which several are, at least in part, by other hands; that his songs are inseparable from the context, and that even the few blank ones are closely imbedded in the conversation, if not indeed the action, of the scene; and that they serve not for the gross humor of boisterous clownage or of raving madness, but for the subtle and delightful portrayal of human nature, the enrichment of scene or atmosphere, the expression of thought or mood inappropriate for the speeches, the motivation of action, the heightening of emotional effect, and the foreshadowing of what is to come. In at least one case the song projects our imaginations not merely into the next scene or act, but beyond the end

of the play into the future which is yet unrevealed. Ariel, never actually free during the action of *The Tempest*, on account of the exigencies of the situation, is allowed, after Prospero has again promised him freedom, to give us a glimpse of his fairy life in the years that are to come (V, i, 88ff.):

Where the bee sucks, there suck I.
In a cowslip's bell I lie;
There I couch when owls do cry.
On a bat's back I do fly
After summer merrily.
Merrily, merrily shall I live now
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.

“The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs of Apollo.”

AN ELIZABETHAN DEFENCE OF THE STAGE

KARL YOUNG

Nothing in the annals of Elizabethan literature is more familiar than the special Puritan attack upon the stage that wore on through a decade or two after the erection of *The Theatre* and *The Curtain* in the Liberties of London in 1576-77. The pamphlet invectives of Northbrooke, Gosson, and Stubbes are, indeed, greatly to be cherished, not only as capital illustrations of the perennial spirit of Puritanism, but also as invaluable communications concerning the type of audience and the sort of dramatic material with which Shakespeare and his early competitors were concerned.

It is too often assumed, however, that the attack was directed indiscriminately against the whole dramatic species, and that for the Puritan the phrase "vain plays and interludes" was all-inclusive. The corrective for such a view of the matter may be illustrated from the famous *Treatise* of Northbrooke himself, for he can describe at least one kind of play in which there is no guile:

I thinke it is lawefull for a schoolmaster to practise his scholars to play comedies, obseruing these and the like cautions: first, that those comedies which they shall play be not mixt with

anye ribaudrie and filthie termes and wordes (which corrupt good manners). Secondly, that it be for learning and vtterance sake, in Latine, and very seldome in Englishe. Thirdly, that they vse not to play commonly and often, but verye rare and seldome. Fourthlye, that they be not pranked and decked vp in gorgious and sumptious apparell in their play. Fiftly, that it be not made a common exercise, publickly, for profit and gaine of money, but for learning and exercise sake. And lastly, that their comedies be not mixte with vaine and wanton toyes of loue. These being obserued, I iudge it tollerable for schollers.¹

From such an utterance it appears that Northbrooke's mind was at rest in regard to the Latin drama of the schools and universities; and it would seem natural for the earnest controversialist to assume that the plays produced in the halls of Oxford and Cambridge should be pure in purpose and effect, and that at the University, at least, one need stir no quarrel over the immorality of the drama. Such an assumption, however, was not justified by fact; for the universities not only joined hands with London Puritans in condemning the public performances of "common players"; they also developed a substantial private controversy over plays written and performed within their own walls "for learning and vtterance sake, in Latine."

Of this controversy the most conspicuous evidence is from Oxford, and the narrative begins with the performance of three Latin plays of William Gager in the hall of Christ Church at Shrovetide, 1592: on Sunday, February 5, *Ulysses Redux*; on Monday, February 6, *Riuales*; on Tuesday, February 7, an adaptation of Seneca's *Hip-*

¹ *Publications of the Shakespeare Society*, London, 1843, p. 104.

polytus. To witness these performances, Dr. Thomas Thornton, a friend and colleague of Gager, had twice invited the learned Dr. John Rainolds, of Queen's College. Irritated by the repeated invitation, Dr. Rainolds sent to Dr. Thornton, on Monday, February 6, a letter in which he set forth his reasons for declining. Without showing this letter to Gager, Thornton merely informed him later that Rainolds had civilly declined on the ground that it was not his habit to attend plays. At the close of the third play, on Tuesday, February 7, Gager brought upon the stage the comic figure of *Momus*, who not only passed severe strictures upon Gager's three plays, but also took an extreme position in opposition to acting and plays in general. This dramatic device included an *Epilogus Responsivus*, in which the objections of Momus were deftly met and held up for ridicule. Although the "devyse of Momus" had been "conceyved and penned longe before" Rainolds wrote to Thornton, had been shown to the latter "a monthe before," and had been intended merely as "a iest to serve a turn,"¹ the similarity between the main arguments advanced in Rainolds' letter and certain objections ridiculously uttered by Momus gave offence to the learned scholar of Queen's College, induced between Rainolds and Gager a correspondence of which the earlier part has been lost, and inspired a sermon by an unknown young fellow of Queen's College upon the text in

¹ The quotations in this sentence are from Gager's unpublished letter to Rainolds preserved in Corpus Christi College Ms., 352, p. 42.

Deuteronomy xxii, 5, which forbids men to assume the apparel of women. It was probably these unfriendly outbursts that prompted Gager to publish, in May, 1592, the text of *Ulysses Redux*, including *Momus* and an enlarged version of the *Epilogus Responsivus*, and to send a presentation copy to Rainolds. In acknowledgment of his gift Gager received a long letter, dated July 10, 1592, in which Rainolds reaffirmed and amplified the objections to plays previously advanced in his letter to Thornton and echoed,—derisively, as it had seemed,—from the lips of Momus. To this communication Gager replied, on July 31, in a long and notable letter, in which Rainolds' censorious arguments were met point by point with ample scholarship and good temper. Although Gager concluded his letter by expressing the hope that his correspondent would thenceforth confine the controversy to "pryvatt conference," and would desist from "furder replye in wrytinge,"¹ Rainolds returned to the attack, on May 30, 1593, with a letter of portentous bulk and truculence. This document consists essentially in a minute dissection of Gager's letter, rather than in substantial additions to the matter of the argument. To this violent utterance Gager offered no reply, and with it the direct controversy between the two men ceased.²

¹ Corpus Christi College MS. 352, p. 65.

² An admirable account of this controversy is given by F. S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 229-251. The highly technical continuation of it by Rainolds and Albericus Gentilis is recounted by Boas, pp. 244-248.

From this outline it appears that the chief documents in the debate are the following:

(1) Rainolds' letter to Thornton, dated February 6, 1592;

(2) Gager's device of *Momus*, acted on February 7, 1592;

(3) Rainolds' letter to Gager, dated July 10, 1592;

(4) Gager's letter to Rainolds, dated July 31, 1592;

(5) Rainolds' second letter to Gager, dated May 30, 1593.

Of these writings three have been published. As we have observed above, the text of Gager's *Momus* appeared among the appendices of his *Ulysses Redux*, published at Oxford in May, 1592. The two letters addressed by Rainolds to Gager occupy the greater part of a little volume bearing the courageous title, *Th' overthrow | of Stage-Playes, | By the way of controversie betwixt | D. Gager and D. Rainoldes, wherein all the reasons | that can be made for them are notably refuted; th' ob- | jec- tions aunswered, and the case so cleared and re- | solved, as that the iudgement of any man, that | is not froward and perverse, may | easelie be satisfied. | Wherein is manifestly proved, that it is not only vnlaw- | full to bee an Actor, but a beholder | of those vanities. | Wherevnto are added also and annexed in th' end certeine latine | Letters betwixt the sayed Maister Rainoldes, and D. | Gentiles, Reader of the Civill Law in Oxford, | concer- ning the same matter. | 1599.* In 1600 the sheets of this volume were reissued, with a fresh title-page

that names Middleburgh as the place of publication; and in 1629 a new edition appeared from the press of Oxford University

Strangely enough, the first and fourth documents in the controversy have never been printed. This neglect can scarcely be due to a lack of inherent importance; for in his letter of February 6 to Thornton, Rainolds carefully defines his position, and either outlines or mentions the issues that form the frame-work of the subsequent dispute; and Gager's letter of July 31 to Rainolds constitutes the one explicit and substantial reply to Rainolds' attack. With inevitable interest, then, one turns to these letters themselves. Rainolds writes as follows:¹

Syr because your curteous inviting of me yesterdaye againe to your plaies dothe shewe you were not satisfied with my answer and reason therof before geven, why I might not be at them: I have thought good by writinge to open that vnto yow which, if tyme had served to vtter them by word of mouthe, I doute not but yow would haue rested satisfied therwith: ffor both I perceaued by that your selfe spake of *men in wemens raiment*, that some of your players were so to be attired: & that you acknowledged, that, if this were unlawfull, I might iustlie be vnwilling to approve it by my presence. Now for myne owne parte in deed I am perswaded that it is vnlawfull because the scripture saythe *a woman shall not weare that whiche pertaineth*

¹ Corpus Christi College MS. 352, pp. 11-14. The letter is headed as follows: *A Letter of Dr J. Rainolds to Dr Wm Gager (LL.D.) shewing his reasons why he did not accept his invitation to see his play acted. 1st Reason taken from the unlawfulness of wearing a habitt proper to a different sex. 2^d because acted on y^e Lords day. 3rd from y^e doubts of his own mind.* Another hand has, very properly, deleted the words *Dr. Wm Gager (LL.D.)* and has substituted the following: *an unknown friend forson Tho. Thornton. vid. Ath. Oxon. 1st vol. pages 409 & 754 & Dr Rainold' answer to Dr Gager in his Outhrow of Stage plays p. 1 & Ib. p. 49.* The same letter, with trifling variants, is found in Bodleian MS. Tanner 77, fol. 35r-36v, where it bears the following heading: *A letter of D. Rainolds to D. Thornton who requested him to see a stage play.* In my text from C.C.C. MS. 352 I omit Rainolds' marginal references to his authorities.

to a man, nether shall a man put on womans raiment: for all that do so ar abomination to the lord thy god: ffor this being spoken generally of all, and haueing no exception of plaies in the scripture (for ought that I knowe) must be taken generallie, as ment of them also: according to the rule obserued in humaine lawes, but reaching to diuine by equall force of reason; that we may not distinguishe wher the lawe distinguisheth not and things being generallie set downe without distinction ar to be likwyse taken: Else as the sluggard saithe with himself, *a little sleepe, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands*, against the generall prohibition and restraint of slouthfullnes: so against the generall prohibition of idolatrie may the papist saye, *a little worshipping of images*: of adulterie, the whoremonger, *a little single fornication* of theft, the covetous wretch, *a little simonie, briberie, userie*. Nether am I moved by this reason onelie to think that as no breache of these commanndements is lawfull, so nether of the other, no not in plaies and spectacles, but also by the iudgment of such christian writers, as I dare not dissent from, vnlesse I se them cleerlie convinced of error by the word: *Caluin* as sounde and learned an interpreter of the scriptures as anie synce the apostles times in my opinion after he had shewed the daunger of vnmodest wantornes and wickednesse for which the Lord forbideth men and women to chaunge raiment: /for most true (saith he) is that profane poets saying: *Quem prestare potest mulier galeata pudorem*, In which word sith *Juvenal* condemneth Romane women who with helmet on did learne to playe theire warlike parts in games like fensers; and *Caluin* saith that Moses controlleth in both sexes the proportion of that which *Juvenal* doth in one: it followeth that *Caluin* thought men to be forbidden by the lawe of God, to weare a ffrench hooide or other habiliments of women, yea though in plaies and enterludes. *Hyperius* whose writings ar iustlie commended, as most sound and leared too, in a treatise purposelie made against abuses [p. 12] of these shroft-tide daliances, saith the same directlie, affirming that mens wering of womens raiment in such sort is plainlie pronounced abhominable by that lawe as a greater sine then commonlie is thought: / In like sort doth Cyprian urge it against a stage-plaier, saying that by the lawe men ar forbidden to put on a womens garment: and such as do it are iudged accursed. In lyke sorte Tertullian not vpon occasion of anie one stage player, making a trade of it but generallie touching stage-playes. And *Chrysostom* entreating of the manifold staines wherewith the ar blemished, and rekenninge there amongst *satanicall, diuelish apparrell* doth

touch with this sharpe and peremptorie censure men wearing wemens attire, as appeareth by the words following compared with that other wher he noteth of the lawe condemning this offence in men: Ffinallie the byshops to the number of aboue two hundred & twenty assembled in the Emperors palace at Constantinople, the sixt generall counsell not thinkinge it enough to forbid this abuse receaued then in playes and pageants, did decree farder (which argueth how greuous a crime they demede it) that *whatsoever man did put on wemens raiment, if he were of the clergie, he should be degraded: if of the laitie excommunicated.* Now whatsoever weight this iudgment of the church shall haue in youre eyes, or whatsoever iudgment youre self haue of the text of scripture which I reste on: yow se that I, thinking the thinge to be vnlawfull, shall sinne (yf I approved it) at least, in doinge of that which is not of faith if not in hauinge fellowship with the vnfruitfull workes of darknes, and this for that one circumstance which your self mentioned, and toucheth (it may be) all youre plaies. Or, if it do not, yet there ar so manie circumstances beside, some wherof do touch all cheiflie beinge set forth, with such preparation, and charge, as youre ar, that although my self perhaps might behold them without takinge harme, yet should I feare the daunger, which by my example might be bred to others if I were present at them, The qualitie and importance of these sundrie circumstances, some in the matter, some in the forme, some otherwise often hurtfull, as lamentable experience by effects and consequences hath shewed in too manie, what players what beholders: nether doth want of laysure permit me now to open, nor is it needfull to yow, who knowe what hath beene written herof by godlie fathers not onelie those I named but also *Lactantius Basill Epiphanius, Ambrose Austin*, others: for though it be true that some of their speaches reprove the *Gentiles* stage-plaies, and note some fawts also that oures ar free frome peradventure: yet manie [p. 13] of their reasons doe touch oures as neearlie, as may be proved as soundlie as the former of wemens raiment, nether ar relected more iustlie by stage patrones, then scriptures and fathers reproving Idole worship ar cast of by *Bellarmin*, as checkinge Jewish or heathenish idoles not Catholike images of the *Papists*. Howbeit were it onelie some of the fathers iudgment grounded (as I thinke) vpon scripture: you see againe the bond of dutie in me to refraine from that which in my conscience God condemneth; Cheiflie it beinge condemned by godlie lawes of Emperours too, at least in us, and by cannons of councells yea by the canon

lawe in corrupter times, and Popish counsels of late yeares, yea seing (*which is more*) the verie light of reason hath taught whole common weales of heathens some to counte the actors thereof infamous persons, some to reiecte the plaies themselves: as Philosophers also and politit[i]ans haue done. That I should be affraide least St. Paules reprove in a like matter. *Doth not nature it self teach yow*: wold make me to blush, if I should giue countenance to that *which* naturall men by the instincte of common humanitie and care of vertue haue blamed as vnfit for honest civil states. To conclud, howsoeuer these reasons and persuasions all might be repliede to, yet the daye is suche, as the profaninge of it being most offensiue in the eyes of the faithfull who call for the sanctifieinge of the Sabbath, would force me to request yow to haue me excused. The rather for that *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* with other Christian Emperours who tolerated stage-plaies, yet ordained by lawe that the should not be vsed in anie case on sundaye *The Lords day* as after the scripture phrase they terme it. Wherin how much ther is to be consydered by vs we shall perceauē the better, if we marke that god would not haue the worke of his owne sanctuarie to let or interrupt the Sabbath daies rest as Tremellius, & Junius well obserue; much lesse such worke, as this, *which* of all likly-hoodē the necessarye dressing vp of youre stage & players dothe require this daye. [p. 14] Thus haue I beene bould for the care I haue of approvinge, if not my iudgment, myne action at least vnto yow, whome for manie causes I reverence & love, to seeke to satisfie yow, least yow should misdeme me to transgresse the precept. *Be not thou just over much*, while I studie only to obserue the other *Be not thou wicked over much*. Which praying yow to interpret and take all in the best part as I doute not but yow will, I commend yow to the gracious blessinge of the highest, who gaue vs eyes to see what is acceptable in his sight, and willing harts to do it. *Queenes college Febr: 6. 1591.*

The main positions taken by Rainolds appear to be the following:

1. The wearing of women's apparel by men is condemned by Scripture, by Christian writers, and by Church councils.

2. The acting of plays entails an undue waste of time and money.

3. Plays have a vicious moral effect upon actors and audience.

4. Actors were considered "infamous persons" even by the civil law of "whole common weales of heathens."

5. The performance of plays on the Sabbath is a profanation of the day.

These fundamental contentions, supported with amplitude and erudition in Rainolds' two letters to Gager, subsequently printed and reprinted, are aptly met in the substantial manuscript letter of Gager with which we are now concerned. Unhappily the length of this humane document precludes the full printing of it on the present occasion. An adequate conception of its tone and content, however, may be formed from illustrative passages.¹

Following the order of the strictures in Rainolds' letter to Thornton, we observe, in the first place, that Gager was well aware of the scriptural tradition condemning men's wearing the apparel of women, and that he was provided with a broad interpretation of the crucial passage in Deuteronomy, xxii, 5:

Wherfor my twoe examples, beinge taken as thay ought to be, and in that vnderstandinge, that I applyed them for, this consequence rightly followethe, *Non ergo iuueni est grande simpliciter nefas, Mollem puellam induere.* which proposition I assuminge to be trwe (as I thinke it is most trwe) I straye fell to the expowndinge of the place in *Deute.* thus; *Non ergo vestis fæminea iuueni est scelus, Sed praua mens, libido, malitia,*

¹ These passages are here printed, so far as I know, for the first time. Other and less extensive extracts are given by Mr. F. S. Boas in *The Fortnightly Review*, August, 1907, pp. 311-319, and in his *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, pp. 233 ff.

ac dolus, Nec habitus vllus, sed animus turpem facit. that, is that the only puttinge on of weeme[n]s rayment, is not wicked, but the lewde ende to deceyve, the rather therby, and the more safely to be in the cumpanye of weemen, to bringe some bad purpose abowte; or of an effemynate mynd, to suffer his heare to growe longe; or to fryzell it, or in speeche, colour, gate, gesture, and behaviour to become womanishe; or ordynaryly so to converse amonge men and weemen, agaynst the course of all naturall and cyvill regarde, is an abomynation to the Lorde. other doe expownde the place, thus; that a man shall not putt on the ornamentes of a woman; nor a woman the armour of a man; and that this lawe was opposed agaynst the superstition of the Gentylls, amonge whome in the sacrifices of *Venus*, men clad them selves like weemen, with distaff and spindell, and suche like; and weemen in the sacrifices of *Mars*, putt them selves in armour. and therfor *Abomynation* in the Scriptures, say thay, is commonly taken for idolatrye, or for somethinge belonginge to idolatrye. all the devynes that ever I talked with of this matter, affirme the trwe meaninge of that place, to be contayned in theses senses rehearsed. wherfor though I grant, that, as you prove, (admyttinge that in case of necessytye a man may clad hym selfe in a woma[n]s habitt) he may not therfor doe ill in iest, and in a meryment. [C. C. C. MS. 352, p. 52.]

He stoutly maintains, moreover, that the evils attributed to the practice have no relevance to his own dramatic productions:

Yet I answer, that we not offendinge agaynst the trwe vnderstandinge of the Text, because we doe not so of any ill intent, or any suche mynd, or that any suche effecte hathe followed in vs therof, or may in deede be sayde at all to weare weeme[n]s apparell, because wearinge implyes a custome, and a common vse of so doeing, wheras we doe it for an howre or twoe, or three, to represent an others person, by one that is openly knowne to be as he is in deede; it is not ill in vs to doe so, though it be but in myrthe, and to delyte: and therfor all that parte of your discourse, wherein you inforce by many authorityes, that there must be a distinction in apparell twixt men and weemen, pertaynethe not to me: for how coulde I thinke otherwise? for this my verse, *Nec habitus vllus, sed animus turpem facit*, was not to fetch abowte any hidden conclusion, or to delyver a rule that it is no dishonesty for a man in all places to

weare whatsoever apparell he will, if his mynd be chast, as you say; but served as a parte of that interpretation of the place, wherof I spake before. [C. C. C. MS. 352. p. 52.]

Gager proceeds further in contending that the impersonation of women by the Christ Church actors was not such as to encourage licentiousness:

Seeinge therfor that, as I take it, it is not proved vngodly for a boy or a yuthe, to putt on womanly rayment in owre case, it followethe that it is not the lesse vnlawfull for suche a one also to imitate womanly speeche, and behaviour, howe hardly so ever you thinke good to terme it. neyther dothe my glosse vpon the *Texte* allowe the contrary, as you wryte. for the verses of myne, *Distincta sexum forma distinctum decet, Virile non est fæminæ mores sequi, etc.* are also parte of my exposition of the *Texte* which is in controversye, and carrye no other sense then I have spoken of before. for thoughe different behavioure becommethe the different sexes, and it beseemethe not men to followe weemens manners, in the common course of lyfe, to the pervertinge of [p. 55] the lawe of nature, honesty, and cumlynes, or for any evill purpose; yet a boy, by way of representation only, may not indecently imytate maydenly, or womanly demeannre. Ffor as for all that tracte of your discourse, concerninge the danger of wanton dansinge, of kissinge bewtiful boyes, of amatorye embracings, and effectuall expressinge of love panges, whereby bothe the spectators in behowldinge, and the actors in the meditation of suche thinges, are corrupted, all which you prove by sondry examples and authorityes; it is more learnedly, and eloquently handled, then iustly applyed agaynst vs. it is easy for you, or any man of learninge to wryte or speake copiously, and truly agaynst the bad effectes of Stage playes, in generall; but in owre cause, it is rather to be considered, how trwly, and charitably suche thinges may be applyed agaynst vs, then howe eloquently thay may be enforced. * * * We hartely pray you, Sir, to make a greate difference betweene vs, and *Nero* with his *Sporus*, or *Heliogabalus* with hym selfe, or the *Cananytes*, *Jwes*, *Corinthians*, or them that cause their pages to weare longe heare like weemen, or *Critobulus*, kissinge the fayre sonne of *Alcibiades*, or any suche doggs. we hartely abhorre them; and if I coule suspecte any suche thinge to growe by owre Playes, I woulde be the first that should hate them, and detest my selfe, for gyvinge suche occasion. you say owte of

Quintilian, nimium est quod intelligitur; and I may say, *nimum est quod dicitur*. we thanke God owre youthe doe not practyse suche thinges, thay thinke not of them, thay knowe them not. neyther can any man lyvinge, the rather for owre Playes, charge any one of vs with the leste suspition, of any suche abomynation. I have byn often moved by owre Playes to laughter, and somtyme to teares; but I can not accuse eyther my selfe, or any other of any suche beastly thought, styrrred vp by them. and ther for we should most vncharytably be wronged, if owre puttinge on of womanly rayment, or imytatinge of suche gesture, should eyther directly or indirectly be referred to the commandement, *Thou shalte not commit adulterye*. and yet if owre *Eurymachus* had kissed owre *Melantho*, though *Socrates* had stood by, (and I would *Socrates* had stood by) he would perhapps have sayde he had done amysse, but not so dangerously as *Critobulus* did, because he might evydently perceyve, that no suche poyson of incontineneye could be instilled therby. As for the danger to the spectators in heeringe and seeinge thinges lyvely expressed, and to the actors in the earnest meditation and studye to represent them; I grant that bad effectes doe fall owte in thos Playes, agaynst the which suche arguments are iustly to be amplyfyde; but there is no suche myscheefe to be feared to enswe of owres. wherein for owre penninge, we are base and meane as you see; and specialy for womanly behaviour, we weare so careles, that when one of owre actors should have made a *Conge* like a woman, he made a *legg* like a man. in summ; owre spectators could not gretely charge owre actors with any such diligence in medytation and care to imprynt any passions; and so neyther of them could receyve any hurt therby. [C. C. C. MS. 352, pp. 54-55, 56.]

One welcomes the genial observation concerning the Christ Church student who, when he "should have made a *Conge* like a woman, he made a *legg* like a man"; for it is pleasant to infer that, unlike his opponent, Gager did not allow the earnestness of the occasion to annul his humor.

In advancing to the second main charge,—of wasted time and money,—Gager is amply armed. For justifying both relaxation in general

and dancing in particular, he finds support not only in manifest common sense, but also in the sturdy *Gouverneur* of Sir Thomas Elyot:

In your answere to my defence of owre not mysspendinge tyme aboute Playes, I must needes saye, you spare vs not a whitt. if you had but sayde that owre playes, are toyes, unnecessarye, vayne, or suche like; it had byn no more perhapps then in strictnes, trwe. because *Unum modó necessarium*; and he that had tryde all thinges, of his owne wise experience pronouncethe, *Vanitas vanitatum, & omnia vanitas*, yea evne learninge, and wisdom, and all thinges ells, excepte the feare of God, which endurethe for ever. and I have harde a godly, and a learned preacher, whome you knowe, in the pulpitt affirme, that owre declamations, oppositions, suppositions, and suche scholasticall exercises, are no better then vayne thinges. but to compare owre Playes, to *y^e wickednes of afoole committed in pastyme, to a madd mann's castinge of fyrebrandes, arrowes, and mortall thinges, as you doe before; or to the hauntinge of a dycinge house, or tavern, or stwes, as in this place; or to a schollers playinge at stooleball amonge wenches, at mumchance, at Mawe with idell lost companions, at Trunkes in Guilehalls, dansinge aboute Maypoles, riflinge in alehouses, carroweing in taverns, stealinge of deere, or robbinge of orchardes, as afterwarde; I say to compare owre Playes to no better then thes thinges, it exceedethe the cumpasse of any tolerable resemblance. * * ** Finally, bothe you, and I agree, that relaxation from studyes is necessary in a good scholler, bothe for bodye, and mynde. and yet did I not conclude, as you make me, that therfor all recreations are honest. for I never thought any suche thinge. but as my simple assertion, that there is a needfull tyme for sportes, dothe not therfor prove the lawfullnes of owre Playes, which before I presumed to be lawfull; so your incomparable, and harde comparisons, doe lesse argue their vnlawfullnes. and heere amonge other vnfitt recreations, besyde Playes, you use many wordes agaynst dansinge, though it be but as it weare by the waye. all which place dothe touche vs no neerer, then I have shewed before. for myn owne parte, I never dansed, nor ever coulde, and yet I can not deny, but I love to see honest dansinge. to omytt *Homer's* iudgment therof, an excellent observer of *decorum* in all thinges; that learned Knight Sir Thomas Eliote, amonge other thinges that he wrytethe in a booke of his, which I have seene, in the prayse of dansinge, I remember, comparethe the man treadinge the measures, to

[p. 61] *Fortitude*, and the woman on his hande, to *Temperance*.
[C. C. C. MS. 352, pp. 58, 60-61.]

Gager's discussion of expense and of the claim of the poor includes interesting disclosures in regard to the infrequency and modest scale of the Christ Church performances:

2 Say you, *Nero peradventure was eyther less able, or less willinge, to helpe the poore, by reason of fyve or sixe thousande powndes spent for a Plaudite*. what *Nero's* ryotts weare that way, I can not iustly accownte; likely it is, thay weare very excessyve, that he would gyve so muche mony, as you speake of, to Captaynes of bandes, only to crye, excellent, excellent; besyde the rest of his charge, in settinge his Playes owte. there is no proportion, I knowe, between *Nero's* abylytye, and owres. but if *Nero* [p. 62] cowlde have as well spared suche huge summs of mony, which he spent that way often, as owre House, with the cumpanye in it, and belonginge to it (thanked be God) can, ons in many yeers, thirtye powndes; *Nero* shoulde have byn wronged greatly beinge an Emperour to have byn noted of wastfullnes, and if ever he had any suche good mynde, he mought never the lesse have releevd the poore. And therfore, *ad quid ista perditio est, Here? Mala, Mome, vox est*; servethe a turne well inoughe agaynst *Momus*. for thoughe I knowe there is an infinyte difference, betweene owres, and the action agaynst the which it was hypocritically first vsed; yet I thinke it may also be applyed, agaynst eyther the nigardise, or the hypocrisie of any *Momus*, that shall condemne all expence, as cast away, that is somtyme, moderattly bestowed vpon honest sportes and pastymes, and not vpon the poore. A man may feast, and yet remember the affliction of *Josephe* toe. and monye may be spent on Playes, evne thirtye powndes, and yett the poore releevd, and no man the lesse liberall for them, or the more, if they had not byn at all. for thoughe no cost can be so well bestowed, as that was vpon owre Savioure; yet if followeth not, that therfor no cost is at any tyme to be employed vpon lawfull recreations, suche as owre Playes weare, whatsoever is rather objected, then proved, to the contrarye. [C. C. C. MS. 352, pp. 61-62.]

With the next consideration,—the alleged deleterious effect of plays upon the morals of actors

and audience,—we arrive at the very heart of the controversy. For his defence Gager depends not only upon the plain case of his own performances, but also upon the lofty tradition of ancient tragedy:

In *Riuales*, what Cato might not be deltyed to see the fonde behavioure of cuntrye wooinge, expressed by cyvill men, or the vanytye of a bragginge soldier? by the spectacle of the drunken mariners, if there were any drunkard there, why might he not the rather detest drunkennes, by seeinge the deformytye of drunken actions represented? possible it was not, that any man should be provoked to dronkennes therby. the *Lacedæmonians* are commended for causinge their slaves, beinge drunke in deed, to be brought before their children, that thay seeinge the beastly vsage of suche men, myght the more lothe that vyce; but we muche better expressinge the same intent, not with drunken, but with sober men, counterfettinge suche vnseemly manners, are the lesse therfor to be reprehended. In *Hippolytus*, what younge man did not wisshe hym selfe to be as chaste as *Hippolytus*, if he weare not so allreadye? whoe did not detest the love of *Phædra*? whoe did not approve the grave counsayle of the *Nurse* to her in secrett? or whoe could be the worse for her wooinge *Hippolytus*, in so generall termes? the drifte wherof, if it had byn to procure an honest honorable marriage, as it was covertly to allure hym to incest, he might very well have listned to it. whoe wisshethe not that *Theseus* had not byn so credulus? whoe was not sorrye for the crwell deathe of *Hippolytus*? thes and suche [p. 58] like, weare the passions that weare, or might be moved, in owre Playes, withowte hurte, at the leste, to any man. as in other *Tragedyes*; whoe dothe not hate the furye of *Medea*, the revenge of *Atreus*, the treason of *Clytemnestra* and *Ægistus*, and the crueltye of *Nero*? contrarye wise, whoe dothe not pittye the rage, and the deathe of *Hercules*, the calamytye of *Hecuba* and her children, the infortunate valure of *Oedipus*, the murder of *Agamemnon*, the bannishment of *Octavia*, and suche like? and yet no man is to be reproched, for eyther affection. Wherfor as the younge men of owre house, are suche in deede, as I commended them for; so for me, or for any thinge donne on the Stage, by the grace of God thay may so remayne and continwe, and I hope shall ever be so reputed. [C. C. C. MS. 352, pp. 57-58.]

The fourth consideration,—the status of actors under Roman civil law,—involves nice questions of fact and of logic that can be set forth only inadequately in brief extracts. Gager maintains, in the first place, that actors were never accounted indiscriminately infamous:

For first I denye, that the *Romans* ever iudged, *omnes scenicos, infames*. because Playes weare somtyme, as in a common plauge, instituted *ad placandos Deos*, and weare provided by greate Officers, of the common treasure; and so thay are referred *ad religionem, et deuotionem*. somtyme thay weare sett owt at the pryvat cost of them that stood to the peeple for great Offices, or generally for the honor and sollace of the cytye; and so thay are referred to magnificence. for *magnificentia* is a goodly vertue, [p. 47] *et versatur circa sumptus amplos, non turpes aut infames*, because it is a vertwe; but *circa quæcunque in Rem publicam honestæ laudis studio conferuntur*; amonge the which *Aristotle* reckonethe, *Ludos splendidé facere*. neyther is it to be thought, that *Æsopus* and *Roscius*, beinge bothe men of that fame, favor, wealth, and entyre famyliartye with the best, and wisest in their tymes, weare reputed as infamous persons. what should I speake of so many *Circi, Theatra, Amphitheatra*, buylded by the greatest and bravest Romans, with so huge charge and sumptuousnes? which thoughe thay weare wonte vpon fowle abuses, or some other occasion, as you write, overthrowne by the *Romans* them selves, yet evne thos playes, for which thay weare abolished, weare *ex eo genere*, of whom thay might have sayde (as *C. Tacitus* dothe of *Astrologers*) *quod in ciuitate nostrâ et vetabitur semper, et retinebitur*. howsoever, I can not thinke, that eyther thay woulde have suffered suche thinges to be donne at all, if thay had iudged them ill; or to be performed by infamous personns, beinge matters of that state and magnificence, and, as thay thought, of that devotion, and necessarytye. it weare not harde for me to heape vp many thinges to this purpose, but my desyre is no further to approve their iudgment heerin, then servethe for the necessarye defence of owre selves, and owre oinges. [C. C. C. MS. 352, pp. 46-47.]

Gager contends, moreover, for a distinction first, between *histriones*,—those “common players” who

act professionally for money (*quæstus causa*),—and amateurs like the Christ Church students, who play without compensation (*sine quæstu*); and secondly, between the dissolute amateurs of antiquity and the virtuous gentle folk of the Oxford colleges:

Ffirst therfor wheras you denye me that the *Prætor* dothe not distinguishshe, as I doe, be[t]weene thos that doe *prodire in scenam quæstus causâ*, and not *quæstus causâ*, but rather in expresse wordes saythe the contrarye, *qui in scenam prodierit infamis est*; it is very trwe, and I knwe that very well before. but because *Vlpian ad edictum Prætoris*, dothe so expownde the *Prætor*, as it weare *ex æquitate Prætoriâ* and *ex responsis prudentum Pegasi et Neruæ filij* I thought it was as good lawe, and better verse, to saye, *Famosus ergo est quisquis in scenam exijt? Prætor negabit*; seeinge the meaninge of the *Prætor*, and so the *Prætor* hym selfe, is taken to denye it; as to saye *Vlpianus*, or *Pegasus & Nerua filius negabunt*. that *Vlpian* dothe approve the distinction of *Pegasus* and *Nerua*, it is evident; for if he had disliked it, or not allowed it, though he alleged theire authoritye, yet he woulde in expresse wordes have refused it, as in many places of the *Ciuill Texte*, the like appeerethe. that *Pegasus* and *Nerua* doe so distinguishshe, it is as manifest; because otherwise *Vlpian* shoulde repeate the *Prætors Edict* in vayne, and not [p. 45] interpret it, which he professethe to doe. besyde that *Glossa communis*, *Baldus*, *Petrus de Castro*, and all that I have seene vpon this lawe, doe so vnderstand this latter parte therof. lastely, in this very *Title De his qui notantur infamia*, and in the same places therof, *In certamen descendere*, and *In scenam prodire*, doe as thay saye in owre lawe, *ambulare æquis passibus*; but it is most evident, that, *qui descendit in certamen depugnaturus cum bestiis dentatis, ac feris, virtutis ostendendæ, non mercedis causâ, non est notatus; ergo qui prodit in scenam pronuntiandi gratiâ, sine præmio, aut quæstu, non est notatus*. and the reason of the favorable parte of the distinction, may well, me thinkes, be gathered owte of the lawe which is *C. de spectaculis l.i. in fine. li. xi.* Neyther dothe *Dionysius Gothofredus*, whom you alleage, denye this distinction, but rather prove that *Pegasus* and *Nerua filius* doe so distinguishshe, in exceptinge agaynst the latter member, in his note, *Immo et qui sine quæstu*. whoe, to admytt your

perhapps, that he is a man more learned then Pegasus and Nerua filius, the authors of this distinction, together with *Vlpian*, in not disallowinge it, approvinge the same (which notwithstandinge for some reasons I can not yet thinke to be soe) yet surely he is not of so greate authorytye, as the Texte it selfe, whatsoever any man may esteeme his learninge to be. and yet in some sense, his shorte, but quick note, *Immó et qui sine quæstu*, hurtethe not vs at all. for if he meanethe therby to taxe *Laberius*, *Lentulus*, *Nero*, and suche like, that did *exercere historioniam*, thoughte, *gratuitam*; his exception is most trwe, and it makethe not agaynst vs, or owre Texte. for this lawe releevethe them, that came in *Scenam*, to doe their common wealthe honor, their citizens honest pleasure and delyte, and their Godds devowte servyce, with owre rewarde; not them that did so only to satisfye their dissolute and lewde humors, as *Lentulus*, *Nero*, and others did, whose examples can not be applied agaynst them, or vs; as shall be heerafter shewed. [C. C. C. Ms., 352 pp. 44-45.]

Upon the final issue, as to the appropriate use of the Sabbath day, Gager comments with agreeable tartness:

Wheras I sayde that there was no more tyme spent vpon owre Playes then was convenient, you replye that *It may be there was, evne some tyme that shoulde have byn spent in heeringe Sermons, the very day that my Vlysses Redux came vpon the Stage*. It may be there was not; and for any thinge that can be proved, or for any thinge that any man needed to be hindred from Sermons that daye for my *Vlysses*, it was not so in deede. sure I ame, that the gentelman that playde *Vlysses*, was at Sermon, and divers others of the actors, as if neede were they coulde prove, perhapps the rather, to avoyde such a scandall. if any were awaye, thay might have other cause so to doe, thoughte (the more the pittye) it is no vnvsuall thinge, for many other students, as well as owres, sometyme to mysse a sermon. and it may be, that some of them that mysliked owre Playes, weare not there them selves; it may be the same Sunday night thay were wurse occupied then owre actors were. [C. C. C. MS. 352, p. 59.]

From the two documents examined above it appears that Gager fared well enough in a con-

troversy restricted to questions of morals; and one can but regret that the debate did not more readily broaden into issues of literary criticism, in which the humane learning of the Christ Church scholar must have displayed itself to even greater advantage. Of the temper and wisdom that would have characterized his essays in this direction, however, we may gain at least a glimpse, for at one point in the quarrel the dramatist strays into the consideration of a literary canon. In the course of his random strictures upon the drama, *Momus* is made to condemn Gager's *Ulysses Redux* in the following terms:

Tragœdiæ plausistis alternæ quoque;
 Nisi forté potiùs illa sit Comœdia,
 Opima thuri præda, scombrisque aridis,
 Exanguis, atque exilis, & serpens humi,
 Affectuum tam vacua, tam neruis carens,
 Vinumque referens latice dilutum nimis,
 Cui vix color maneret, aut minimus sapor.
 Cui diua Elisa callidé iniecta, vndique
 Plausum imperavit, sibilo dignæ magis.
 Mendicus Irus, dedecore Iambum afficit,
 Personæ vilis; quodque sublimi nefas
 Summum est Tragædo, Comicè risum excitat.¹

Here is a sufficiently flat condemnation of the practice of admitting comic scenes into tragedy. In justifying this practice Gager was put to his trumps; for although he makes no substantial reply in his *Epilogus Responsivus* to *Momus*, it was in anticipation of precisely such a stricture that he composed his interesting prologue *Ad Criticum*,

¹ *Momus*, ll. 60-71, printed in *Ulysses Redux*, Oxford, 1592, sig. F 4 recto—F 4 verso.

found among the prefatory pages of *Ulysses Redux* (sig. A 6 recto—A 7 verso):

AD CRITICUM

Qvorsum, inquis, epistola? an nos concione etiam aliquâ enecabis? parumne tibi præstatur, si versus tui legantur? cuius patientiæ erit, præfationem quoque tolerare? ecquando ad carmina tandem ipsa licebit peruenire? quid porro hic dicturus es, quod non in Prologo tuo dixisti, aut saltem in Epilogo dicere potuisti? Recte tu quidem ista, Critice, si scriberem Epigrammata; quibus epistolari operâ non est opus, quia in quacunque paginâ visum est, epistolam facere solent. at Tragædis, quibus pro se loqui non licet, præfari semper permissum fuit, & ego Tragædiam scribo. Imò, non est, inquis, hæc Tragædia. Quid ita, Critice? quia, inquis, & materiæ quadam mendicitate peccat, dictioneque plerumque comicâ est; & risum in Iro mouet, quod in Tragædia nefas est, atque adeò piaculum; & vere tragico affectu vacat, (quis enim aut Procorum, id est hominum improborum interitu suspiret, aut meretricularum suspensio illachrymetur?) postremò, quia lètum habet exitum. Profecto ipsum te esse Criticum oportet, ita es ingeniosè maledicus. & quidem haud scio an vera ista sint; fortasse non multùm absunt [sig. A 6 verso] a veris. Sed tamen libet ire contra. Ac primùm tibi illa Horatiana respondeo,

*Et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri,
Telephus & Pelæus cùm pauper & exul uterque
Proijcit ampullas, & sesquipedia verba.*

Mihi verò, quoad licuit, Homeri vestigiis insistere, nunquamque a boni senis quasi latere discedere, religio fuit. Quis enim a tanto Vate vel latum vnguem libenter abiret? aut quis meliora se, ac grandiora confidat allaturum? vt, qui materiæ, dictionisque humilitatem carpit, non me, sed Homerum ipsum, id est principem, Ideam, ac Deum poetarum reprehendat; eum verò qui vituperat, Zoilum esse necesse sit. Porrò in Cyclope, Euripides, Silenum, Satyros, ipsumque Polyphemum ridiculè garrientes, & Seneca Thyesten non nimis sanè sobrium inducit. Quid verò illa Sophoclis Cignea cantio Oedipus Colonæus, quam centesimum prope agens animum scripsit, quamque antiquitas tantopere admirata est? quid, inquam, ea magnopere luctuosum habet, præter placidam & maturam Oedipodis iam senio confecti, mortem? Electrè verò quod aliud est argumentum, quàm

Clytemnestræ nequissimæ fœminæ, Ægisti^{que} adulteri, iustissima cædes? Eiusdem denique Philoctetes, & Senecæ Hercules Oeteus, in quam aliam catastrophem, nisi lætam desinunt? Quid ego hic tot Euripidis tragædias commemorem? quarum fere nulla est, quæ non in omnem istam reprehensionem incurrat. Magnis ego me & authoribus & argumentis possem defendere; sed emoriar si amem lites, saltem criticas, id est futes, id est tuas, Criti[sig. A 7 recto]ce. Nam vt viuendi, sic etiam scribendi ratio mihi inprimis probatur ea, quæ est paulò liberior ac penè dissolutior, quæ^{que} non tam doctissimis, quàm imperitis placeat. quid enim putidius quam quod tu facere soles, in eo peccare, quia nihil peccare discrutiamur? Equidem ego hanc siue tragædiam, siue fabulam, siue narrationem historicam, siue quicquid eam dici ius fas^{que} est, non ad exquisitam artis poeticæ tanquam aurificis statêram, sed ad popularis iudicii trutinam exigendam proposui, & effudi potiùs quàm scripsi: in quâ minus ingenio laborandum fuit, in cuius locum dimidiæ penè Odysseæ argumentum succedit; quo in digerendo, non tam acumine, quàm delectu, nec tam copiâ, quam modo opus habui. Atqui vt ipse arrogans sim, si cuiquam hæc mortalium minùs quàm mihi placeret; ita tu improbè facis, qui in alieno libello nimis es ingeniosus. At quid tibi, inquis, omnino est cum Tragædia? quid tibi cum Homero, ac non potiùs cum Bartolo negotii est? cui bono est, si apud te vel Vlysses disertè, vel castè loquatur Penelope? Iam parce, quæso; iam puto mehercle verum dicis, Critice. ne viam si vlteriùs respondere ausim Quare beneuolus lector debeat tuæ, id est malæ linguæ, quod defensionem meditatus longissimam, epistolâ eum prolixiore non defatigem. Vale.

This substantial defence of the mingling of comedy and tragedy is a welcome document in the history of English literary criticism; for in it, in the year 1592, an eminent Oxford scholar, who held himself aloof from the traffic of the London stage, justifies a dramatic practice conspicuously followed by Shakespeare.

SOME PRINCIPLES OF SHAKESPEARE STAGING

THOMAS H. DICKINSON

In considering those principles which have governed during three centuries in the production of Shakespeare's plays one is reminded that a play differs from other arts in that the completed product is always the result of collaboration. Sometimes the original composer predominates and sometimes the contribution of the executant is most prominent, but the work can never be said to belong alone to the one or to the other. The ideal collaboration is that in which the execution is at one with the technical principles of the composition. But the longer a play has lived the more difficult it is to maintain this identity of principle, for as fashions change there is possible a complete divorce between the code by which the composer of the play wrote and that by which the producer executes. The true lover of Shakespeare does not ask that the means of production of Shakespeare's plays remain stable; he is satisfied if they remain adequate.

In recent years we have had many critiques pointing to the faulty collaboration between the modern producer of Shakespeare's plays and the

author himself. Though many of the conclusions of this criticism have been just, they have been based too often upon incomplete and misleading data. Fortunately it is no longer necessary to start from mere assumption in treating either the past or present practice of the staging of Shakespeare's plays. The careful studies in the mechanics of the Elizabethan stage by Albright and Lawrence and Reynolds are useful guides for the man who would reconstruct past systems. Written as a rule by scholars in literature rather than in the theatre, these works have been valuable to the extent that they limited themselves to the consideration of the structural properties of the Elizabethan stage. When however, as does Brodmeyer, the writers began to reconstruct the Elizabethan principle of staging by reference to mechanical discoveries, their researches resulted in such monstrosities as the circular stairs to the galleries and the "alternation theory." Supplementing the more mechanical researches Sidney Lee, William Poel, Jozsa Savits, John Corbin turn from the platform stage, the gallery, the heavens, the curtain, and the alternation theory to the consideration of the "imaginary puissance" of the audience. They know that the important thing is not the shape of the stage but the manner in which the stage was used; that one could build again the Shakespearean stage and still be far away from an adequate code of production; that the stage itself was but an accident, the genius of the dramatist being shown, in Dumas'

words, in "making a convention of an exigency." The difference between these writers and the writers of the mechanical school is that the former understand the claims of *rapport* in the composition and production of a play while the latter as a rule do not.

What was the most important feature of the Elizabethan stage from the point of view of *rapport*? Almost without exception critics answer that it is the fact that it was bare,—that is, that it was free of adornment, rude in execution, and simple in design. I should answer that it is the fact that it is flexible, by which I mean that it was immediately adaptable to the purposes of the imagination of the poet and producer. Flexibility is sometimes the quality of simplicity, but flexibility is not the quality of bareness or rudeness. Bareness is a material and immediate quality. It lays a burden upon the artist in that it limits his freedom. He may seek for an expressive beauty only to the extent that this may be reached through a hampering limitation of medium. Flexibility is more universal than this. It is the ideal quality of the medium of art for it subordinates the medium to the purpose, it bends it to the uses of the imagination. When we say the stage was bare we gain no light on other kinds of staging. When we say it was flexible we refer to a principle which may and should be applied to all stages.

By reading Albright and Lawrence we can learn a great deal about the circumstances of Elizabethan staging. For our present purposes it will be suffi-

cient if we know that the stage was a platform extending into the audience chamber and unprotected by a curtain; that there was no perspective scenery used to suggest geographical location; that solid properties were used, and that these were movable; that action could take place at many points on the stage and on the balcony, and that some of the action on the rear of the stage may have been prepared for behind a curtain; that each scene cleaned up after itself unless the property was to remain over for the next scene; that two and sometimes three doors were used for entrance. For such appliances as these all of Shakespeare's plays were written, and by them all were produced; these appliances were as useful in providing the settings for ghosts and fairies as for suggesting the halls of Windsor; they represented as well a stormy heath, a field with two armies encamped, the forest of Arden, the midnight landscape of Puck and Oberon, Rome and Venice and the Coast of Bohemia.

Now surely these effects were not gained by mere bareness. We have abundant warrant for the belief that the Shakesperean stage presented anything other than such an appearance. One need only to study Henslowe to learn the prominent place taken by rich color and fabric in costumes, and intricate and spectacular movement in pageant and procession. William Poel, who devised the first modern stage of the Shakespeare type in England, soon came to the conclusion that Shakespeare's stage could not have been dismal. Oscar Wilde in "The Truth of Masks" has shown that

Shakespeare was willing to use the tricks of costume, the appeals of display, whenever possible. The boy and girl disguises, Malvolio cross-gartered, Macbeth and his wife in their night gowns, the rags of Timon, the black of Hamlet, the armies of the Chronicles,—these revealed the dramatist's willingness not only to use effects for spectacle, but to use them dramatically. He had no desire to depend upon poetic description where the suggestion of sight was more immediate. And what is true of costumes is true of movable properties.

It was not by a purposed denuding of accessories or a conscious crudeness of handling that the Elizabethan producer worked. He was wise enough to distinguish between the kinds of effects which could be secured by sight and those other effects that lie only in the "mind's eye". In this he was somewhat aided by the accidents of the stage structure of the time, but these were not altogether responsible. Shakespeare had at any time he desired it ready to hand the ornate structure of the masque. He did not use this because he found his own stage more flexible and useful in serving the larger purposes of his craft.

Here we have to consider one of the most striking characteristics of Shakespeare's dramatic craftsmanship, this being the distinction he made between the foreground of the action and the background. The foreground of Shakespeare's art was always expressed in men, in precise figures revealing themselves in actions and immediate relationships with their fellows. The background

of his art concerned the larger relationships of the human family, the truths of philosophy and the imagination which lie behind and expound the lives of men. Of the two the background is to him always the more important. The chief characteristic of his stage flexibility lay in the fact that while his plays were precise in immediate matters of display they were general and enigmatical in the background. They presented a surface all of a piece with the life on the other side of the platform, and a far-reaching background extending away to the uttermost parts of the earth, to distant times, and into the general zones of the spirit. In men and properties they were specific. In spirit and movement they were universal.

We had always accepted this distinction between foreground and background in reference to the thought structure of the play. But we have not seen so clearly that it was also adopted into the technique of the stage. This principle in fact explains many of the difficult features of Shakespearean staging. The stage was so constructed as to avoid all precise references of any kind save those of the foreground. The large action of the play was thrown altogether upon the support of the mind. So far from imitating a particular place, the stage hardly suggested a place as locality. There was no perspective to focus or relate the action in space. If space relationships were suggested now and then, they were general and not particular, symbolic but not precise. The doors were valuable as points of entrance and departure but they were

not taken to be scene doors. The relationships of upper and lower, separation, distance, juxtaposition, sequence of positions, could be suggested on the stage without in any way making the stage seem to be any real place. It served only as a material platform on which the actors stood while they built the subtler structure of the imagination.

It is this instrumental character that gives the Elizabethan type of stage its great flexibility and readiness of use. If it were more representative the minds of the audience would be tied to the representation. As it is non-committal it is not bound by any limitations. It may be half a dozen stages as well as one. Indeed, the frequent use of this stage for simultaneous action at different centers warrants one in finding at its separate divisions different zones on which varied actions or even types of action may conventionally have proceeded. Such are the lower stage before the audience, the upper stage under the balcony, the middle stage, the balcony, and possibly even the floor of the auditorium, and the flag tower. On such a stage one has sufficient justification for Sidney's "Asia of the one side, and Afric of the other"; and there was warrant for the mingling in one presence of the intimate domestic action and the noisy outdoor scene of *Othello*, III, iv, and IV i, and of the many mingled tragic and comic scenes of the dramatist.

More important than any problem of stage handling, is the power this kind of stage gave to the hand of the poet. For Shakespeare's stage forced

him back to the use of his strongest medium of expression, the only medium that withstands all the tests and changes of time, the medium of the idea expressed in perfect language. To the extent that Shakespeare perfected this medium in the theatre he raised drama to the highest eminence it has reached among the arts of the world. His use of his stage for the elevation of the art of the theatre into a permanent substance sufficiently answers Goethe's idea that he was not a theatrical poet in that his mind overleaped his narrow stage. Shakespeare's mind did not overleap his stage. He compelled the stage to serve his art.

The qualities by which are shown Shakespeare's ability to force his stage to the service of his art are at least three: 1st, his disregard of time and space in the arrangement of his episodes; 2d, the rapidity of his action and the variety of his scenes; 3d, his use of poetic details to build out the contours of the action. In seeking for instruments by which Shakespeare's plays are to be produced, no executant of any time or nation can afford to ignore these primary principles of his craftsmanship. To the extent that one or another or all of these have been ignored or violated, the producer has failed to give us Shakespeare. He has given us an art lower than that of Shakespeare.

These, then, are the general principles of that "plastic" staging by which the plays of Shakespeare were first given forth to the world. In using the term "plastic" it is important to remember that it carries here little suggestion of a material

plasticity. The true plasticity of the stage lay in its ready adaptability to imaginative expression. It was a free and universal and at the same time a precise and ceremonial stage. It offered a maximum of appeal to sight in matters of costume and property. It offered a maximum of suggestion in the general matters of background and atmosphere. For representations as of a room or bed chamber it had a sufficing intimacy. For larger matters it had a suggesting symbolism.

A generation after the death of Shakespeare the change of stage conventions began. There had been some signs of this change before the closing of the theatres. And many traits of the older stage persisted for a considerable time after the Restoration. But generally speaking, the change of convention is to be dated at the Restoration and the force of the change was the influence from France. While the English stage retained many of its traditional qualities, the underlying principle of staging was revolutionized from a plastic art of suggestion to a pictorial art of representation. This change was by no means concerned only with theory and external detail. It struck at the heart of the play itself, and it had an influence upon subsequent English dramatists that cannot, after two and a half centuries, even be estimated. Of art we may say as Chesterton says of man,—that it is more important to know its philosophy than its practice. To the extent that the old practice was retained in the theatre after the Restoration it was attached to a code

with which it was not harmonious. It persisted by main strength and its interest soon lost all but a dubious historical value. The declamatory method remained long after the stage to which it was adapted had been destroyed. The doors in the proscenium stood for two centuries as vestiges of the old entrance doors. But so far from retaining any of the spirit of the old play these served only to enforce upon a new convention the instruments of an outworn formula.

When the plastic method of production gave way to the pictorial method of production the philosophy of English staging was changed. The latter was a method of representation and realization. The former had been a method of evocation and imagination. The pictorial method magnifies the importance of the stage. The Elizabethan play ignores the stage and fixes the action in the mind. The picture stage points and localizes the action. The Elizabethan play generalizes the action. The picture stage restricts its appeal to the limits of the sense of sight. The Elizabethan play liberates the fancy by elevating it above the zone of those things that may be seen and felt.

The physical characteristics of the Elizabethan stage are enigmatical. They are precise in a pointed context. They fall below the line of attention when the mind is poised or soaring. As against this useful flexibility the governing characteristics of the picture stage are:

- 1st. It interposes between the audience and the actors an arch which provides the frame, and

a curtain which provides the veil between the regions of reality and imagination. By this means it emphasizes the separation of the two fields.

2d. It provides a background of scenery localizing the action and fixing the movement within the bounds of sight. It limits the instrumentalities of drama to the intellect and the senses.

3d. It sets the stage in perspectives, so that a single point provides the focus and all action of whatever type must be in reference to that point. It fastens the action to a space of narrow area and contiguous to the audience.

Nothing in this argument should be permitted to suggest that there is no place in dramatic art for a stage of the pictorial type. Our interest lies only in the influence this type of staging exerted in the collaboration between the romantic dramatist and his later producers. In the case of Shakespeare's plays it required a reorganization of the play to fit the new type of production. Beginning with Dryden and carried on by Cibber, Garrick, Kemble, Kean, Macready and Irving, every new production meant a new variation. Scenes were rearranged and linked together into acts, false to the original and inconsistent with any true principle of dramatic structure. Poetry, rendered redundant by scenery, was rewritten and cut. Declamation, which had held on too long against a background of imitation, finally gave way to a system of naturalism in acting, true indeed to its stage,

but false to its theme. Worst of all, the swift action, the crowding procession of life, of event, and of thought was interrupted by a series of dulling waits. The structure of the lavish imagination of the dramatist was broken into a score of detached fragments. Shorn of their poetry, delayed in their action, perverted into ill fitting acts, set in precise rather than general contexts, focused on a stage of one zone rather than distributed on a stage of many, the poetic imagination of the author crossed with the pictorial imagination of the producer, the spirit of Shakespeare's plays fled from the theatre to be wooed back with difficulty if at all. Many lovers of Shakespeare have joined with the recent critic who wrote, "My own experience has been, until quite recently, that none of the performances which I have seen, have, with a few notable exceptions, produced an impression on me in any way comparable to the impression which I could get from reading Shakespeare."

Almost as serious as the mistreatment of the dramatist himself is the vitiation of his influence upon dramatists who would follow him and maintain his tradition. Given the type of staging of the Restoration and after, it was manifestly impossible to follow the Shakespeare tradition with any hope of success. On this account Dryden was perfectly right in his appeal for the "heroic" play. If the stage was to be one of sight, if the scenes had to be precise, if it was desirable to limit the number of scenes in a play, then indeed the ideal of the heroic play was the only sensible one. In arguing for this

play Dryden was arguing as a dramatist who knew the stage. But Dryden was not strong enough to enforce the acceptance of a type of tragedy appropriate to the new order of stage. The Shakespeare tradition of composition had by his time become so strong that it could not be dislodged. Not Shakespeare on the stage, but Shakespeare the poet, in the study, inflamed the minds of men. For two centuries dramatists and poets slavishly followed the lead of Shakespeare, writing their plays by a principle that no longer existed, trying to combine in one play the imaginative appeals of an ideal stage in poetry, with the precise connotations of a picture production. It was not altogether because of the lack of his genius that they failed. They could not help but fail.

The domination by the picture stage of the theatre of western Europe and America has been accompanied by the degeneration of all kinds of plays. Among the plays to which this stage is adapted are the comedies of manners and the plays of naturalism. In these orders only has the dramatic output of England reached anything like excellence in the last two centuries. And the total number of plays of this type as compared with the mass of debased melodrama and romance is an indication of the real interests of English speaking people in the theatre. Neither comedy of manners nor naturalism is expressive of the genius of the Anglo-Saxon race. The play of imagination and poetry still represents the aspiration of the English

genius in the theatre and if it does not come in the higher forms it is accepted in the lower forms.

What then are we to do? Shall we go back to the practice of the Elizabethan stage? By no means, for we could not do this if we would. The lessons of art are not learned by reaction. If we would learn again to produce Shakespeare's plays we must study to apply the principles of the first productions to the instrumentalities of our times. Probably the discoveries of the new and appropriate staging of Shakespeare will come from the hands of those men who refuse longer to be controlled by the limitations of a rigid code of staging and destroy that code in order to create a more flexible system.

Experiments towards the production of Shakespeare in this spirit have been made frequently during the last seventy-five years. Many of them began with the intention to reproduce the play according to the circumstances of its original performance. That this intention should have come to seem unimportant in view of developments of larger magnitude is only natural. Perhaps the earliest of these experiments was the Tieck performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1843 at the Royal Palace at Potsdam. The movement toward a better historic investiture in costumes and properties inaugurated by Kean and followed by Irving and Tree, after researches of Planché and Godwin, is in fact a movement toward Shakespeare rather than away from him. The Weimar Court Theatre production of *Hamlet*, the Shakespeare stage at Munich, the experiments of the

Elizabethan Stage Society under William Poel, and of the company of F. R. Benson have all contributed toward an understanding of the problems of *rapport*. And recently the work of Gordon Craig, of the Moscow Artistic Theatre, of Max Reinhardt and Granville Barker has been directed in one way or another to this end.

The characteristics of the Elizabethan play principally kept in mind by these modern experimenters have been, 1st, its rapidity of movement, quick changes of temper, and variety of scenes; 2d, its disregard of the precise associations of space in staging in favor of a more general symbolism; 3d, the free scope of the poetic and imaginative features as distinguished from the pictorial and imitative features. Of these the first has been held by many to provide the key to the whole situation. When the pictorial system of staging was introduced, the first and most noticeable result was the slowing of the action through pauses between the scenes and the acts. And it was this problem that experimenters first sought to solve before they came to any revolutionary suggestions. To the quickening of the action and to its continuity many of the experiments of Max Reinhardt and Granville Barker have been directed.

As the problem seemed largely a mechanical one the first effort was to solve it by mechanical means. This led to the invention of several ingenious contrivances for the rapid changing of scenery. These have been of two general types,—

the sliding and wagon stage, in which the new scene is drawn before the arch as the used scene is replaced; and the revolving stage, which is a turn-table on which three or four different scenes may be set. The latter form has been much used in Germany by Reinhardt, and also in several of the court theatres. It has found but sparing use in England and America.

In taking a step toward the solution of the mechanical problem this contrivance points beyond itself to conditions that it does not touch. The turn-table and sliding stages are appurtenances of the picture stage, used in an effort to compel this stage to display characteristics not its own. Indeed, imaginative flexibility does not belong to this type of stage and any effort to supply it by mechanical means is false. The undoubted faults in principle of this contrivance, along with its expense and unwieldiness, have kept it from favor.

The problem to which the turning stage points without solving is the problem of the localized objective point of action. Any effort to carry an action rapidly from point to point by mechanical means is at a disadvantage beside the swift movement of the mind. If rapidity is desired it is not an unnatural rapidity of travel over space but the natural rapidity of thought and fancy not fixed in space, but free to follow the lead of the poet. The demand for rapidity in the action of Shakespeare's plays is therefore bound up with the demand for liberation from the control of the arch and the painted scene.

Steps have been taken in this direction. On one side these have a mechanical aspect, in that they concern the broadening of the strip of stage before the curtain into an apron upon which action may take place. More important than the mechanical features are the modifications in theory introduced by the apron stage. It provides a new zone of action inserted between the picture stage and the audience, a zone freed from the limitations of the frame of the proscenium. The apron stage justifies a new code of *rappport* between the actor and the audience. The actors may come upon the stage from among the audience or go out through the audience. Upon this platform they may turn toward and address their hearers. And this stage may provide a zone of action diverse from that behind the arch. In fact, the apron stage offers many of the free instrumentalities of the Elizabethan stage while retaining also certain characteristics of the picture stage.

Even here there is no breaking away from the stage of sight. Whether we like it or not,—and there is no reason why we should not like it,—the use of sight in all the arts has become necessary to the extent that men have more learned the use of their eyes in modern times. The present problem is therefore not how we may return the theatre to the forms of its childhood, but how it may be led to reach a maturity of balanced powers,—particularly how it may adapt its newer instrumentalities to the service of the best in the tradition of the theatre.

Now this is largely the problem of the artist of design. The theatre has for two centuries been violated by the false arts of line and color. It is for the artist of form and color to provide the new instrument, and he has been ready with his answer. The answer the artist would give is that the pure arts of design should be placed at the service of the theatre in the form of new mediums of dramatic expression,—new symbols, it may be, not restricted by a frame, pointing no locality, rich in general symbolism, and at the same time with a satisfying significance to the searching eye. Pure design and color have been offered to take the place of that imaginative plasticity that was the chief opportunity of the Elizabethan stage. Perhaps the dramatic value of masses and lines, of “an open door at the end of a passage, of face or hands at rest” is a comparatively recent discovery. At any rate it is one that cannot hereafter be ignored by the artists of the theatre.

The first steps away from the control of a narrowing perspective were mechanical steps, but their results soon transcended matters of mere machinery. They were made because the artist discovered that the average foreshortened scene on the stage does not tell the truth. It fails to represent the effects of sky and distance that in the upper background mean most of the beauty of open-air scenes. Instead, therefore, of the painted back drop with sky clinging closely to the outlines of trees and houses, the new producers provided first the cyclorama cloth painted in solid greys or

blues, on which, by manipulation of lights, the sky was represented in the distance back of the standing pieces of the set; and later the dome horizon sloping cone-shaped over the stage. The first purpose of this sky background may have been naturalism, but it went beyond naturalism in achievement. By it the artist was provided a medium only less flexible and neutral than that of thought. For the first time in the modern theatre the setting was permitted to represent immensity, vague and enigmatic if need be, removed from all associations of space and time, or that commoner immensity of the sky behind trees and men's dwelling places. The appropriateness of this background to the service of the rich imagination of Shakespeare was soon discovered.

There is an Elizabethan character to the sky backdrop. It adds to the background of thought of Shakespeare's stage only the color of the sky. It neither localizes nor narrows the scene. And it requires the same relationship between foreground and background that the Elizabethan stage demands. For the foreground it requires solid properties with no perspective lines. In this way it introduces again the plastic to the stage,—solids for the foreground, imagination and distance for the background.

In the change from the picture-staging to the new plastic staging there was involved a change of lighting that demands a word. With the passing of perspective there passed also the necessity and the justification of high-lighting. Therefore the

footlights passed from use and there was substituted a system of lighting based upon a study of the principles of daylight, the diffused light of the sky coming from no point and playing up no particular area. Lighting systems were now invented which removed the lights from view. And the next step was the use of lights as atmosphere, supplying a new but flexible medium for interpretation of the message of the play.

It lies outside the purpose of the present paper to name all the men who have contributed to these new methods of staging. But the paper would be incomplete without a word on Gordon Craig, and the system of "stylization" for which he is responsible. Accepting the claims of sight in the modern theatre, Craig dismisses all representative character from the setting. He seeks to make the setting discover and epitomize values in the play not available to pure imagination. To this end he calls into use all the factors of the arts of sight. He seeks the dramatic values in mass, lines, design, color and light. To the service of the stage he calls all the effects of the studio, including sculpture, and chiaroscuro, and pure decoration and elementary design and color and grotesque, the weight of masses, the folds of draperies and the versatilities of screens.

There are some who say that Craig and his disciple Bakst subordinate the spirit of the play to the studio arts. Bakst admits this; Craig denies it. He says that he seeks to discover the heart of the mystery of the play and to express this by

the best medium at present available. Not because it is an art of sight, but because he considers it the freshest of the arts in instrumentality does Craig offer this art to the service of the theatre. The one final demand of the substance of an art, he holds, is that it be fresh, unweighted by convention, evocative of the subtler values of discovery. For this reason he dismisses most of the conventions of the stage, some because they have been too much used, many because they are not honest. Among those that he discards are the art of acting and the artificial style of "fronts" in setting. Instead of these he brings into use the most nascent of the senses and interprets the spirit of the play in terms of the "broad sweeps of thought the play has conjured up" in form of design. Macbeth he sees in rock and mist; Hamlet is a "lonely soul in a dark place"; Julius Caesar is "a man speaking to a hundred thousand men." If possible he represents the soul of the play either in a pure design, or in a solid sculptured symbolism. *Richard III* is a field of tents; *Hamlet* is set on heavy castle battlements; the salient scene of *Macbeth* is a great circular stairway down which Lady Macbeth walks in her sleep.

As to whether pure design can be used in the presentation of Shakespeare,—that is a question that the artists will have to answer. Certainly these instrumentalities offer many of the characteristics of flexibility and purity of medium possessed by the plastic stage of Shakespeare. They possess also the added quality of freshness so neces-

sary in a medium of art. Probably more discoveries in pure values have been lately made in sight than in any other field of art. The producer has found that it is easy to translate the style of the play into a style of design. Analyzing Shakespeare's plays he finds that in style they are either natural, that is of the order of life, artificial, that is of a formal order, or fanciful, that is of an order of pure imagination. For each of these, then, he would choose a style of production that would reveal and illuminate its mystery. For the natural he would seek out a simplifying order of presentation, reduced to symbolic details emphasizing the predominant dramatic strain,—the curved stairway of *Macbeth*, the tents of Agincourt. For the artificial play he would seek a fantastic background, displayed in a formalized convention or even in a grotesque, as in the post impressionism of Barker's *The Winter's Tale*. And for pure fancy he would seek out the purest lines in sculpture, the purest tones in colors, the least worn of the masses and decorations of archaeology and design. That there are sources of danger in the use of these new materials there is no doubt. The dangers of excess and discord in aims have been made very apparent in the early experiments. It remains to be seen whether these dangers prove the undoing of the new plastic and color stage or whether through the new instrumentalities a more flexible production of the old masterpieces will result.

THE COLLABORATION OF BEAUMONT, FLETCHER, AND MASSINGER

LOUIS WANN

To one who has delved fairly deep into the mine of the later Elizabethan drama it will perhaps seem strange that so little genuine scholarship has yet been applied to the study of collaboration among three of the most important Elizabethan dramatists: Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger. It would indeed seem difficult to find in this particular period and field of Elizabethan literature a more suggestive and fascinating problem, presenting such a host of questions, not only of dramatic method but of personal relationship between men of exceptional gifts and commanding human interest. We have had, to be sure, sufficient testimony to the importance and interest of the subject in the numerous cursory surveys of the field, such as those of Ward and Schelling. We have had more intimate studies of parts of the field by Macaulay, Gayley, Thorndike, Miss Hatcher, and others. And we have obtained additional glimpses of the possibilities of the subject in the analytic work of Fleay, Boyle, and Oliphant. But in all of the cases mentioned we lack one or both of

the two requisites for a satisfactory treatment of the whole field—comprehensiveness and scholarly accuracy. The surveys of the whole field have lacked perforce the accuracy that comes only from detailed and thorough analysis. The careful studies of detached parts of the field, on the other hand, lack the comprehensiveness with which every problem must eventually be treated.

A point of departure in this direction—towards a comprehensive and scholarly treatment of the actual conditions under which these dramatists collaborated—has been indicated, more pointedly than elsewhere, in two very suggestive contributions published a few years ago: *Elizabethan Dramatic Collaboration* by Professor E. N. S. Thompson (in *Englische Studien*, vol. 40, p. 30) and *Fletcher's Habits of Dramatic Collaboration* by Miss O. L. Hatcher (in *Anglia*, vol. 33, p. 219), a reply to the above. These articles, presenting as they do in contrasted form at least two definite and workable theories that might explain collaboration, suggest a foundation upon which to build a durable structure—a foundation which, so far as I know, no one has yet seen fit to establish. It is time that this foundation were laid; and it will be the purpose of this paper to present the results of a fairly extensive investigation, conducted with the above-mentioned requisites in mind, in the hope that these results may contribute somewhat toward securing a comprehensive and accurate treatment of this most perplexing and yet ever alluring problem in the realm of collaboration.

A brief review of the articles in question will indicate the road we are to travel. Professor Thompson's suggestive paper on *Elizabethan Dramatic Collaboration* points the way. After dealing with the numerous perplexities that frustrate the whole study of Elizabethan collaboration, the author indicates the proper method of approach in the following words:

The works of Beaumont and Fletcher and of Middleton and Rowley, which offer the two best examples of that mode of composition [collaboration], have been subjected to searching analytic criticism, and largely by metrical tests the individual work of the four men in their respective partnerships has been with some surety determined. What Fleay, Boyle, Oliphant, Macaulay and Miss Wiggin have done in this way, we shall not amplify or review. Instead, accepting the conclusions on which they agree, and to which other critics have yielded assent, we hope in part to ascertain the motives and the methods of the play-wrights in their joint labors.

He then proceeds, after touching upon the temporary union of Rowley, Dekker, and Ford and other scattered instances of more or less hasty collaboration, to the three cases of genuine collaboration in Elizabethan drama that yielded most fruitful results: that of Beaumont and Fletcher, that of Massinger and Fletcher, and that of Middleton and Rowley, the last of which he considers the highest example of collaboration in Elizabethan times. We are here concerned with only the first two cases. And Professor Thompson's conclusions regarding the methods of collaboration employed by Beaumont and Fletcher and by Massinger and Fletcher may be summed up as follows:¹

¹ Since Miss Hatcher's own summary in *Anglia* cannot be improved upon, I have adopted it here.

(1) As to the Fletcher-Beaumont plays—

According to the terms of the partnership, Fletcher was usually exempt from the responsibilities of the first act. . . . [Three exceptions noted]. But in the majority of plays attributable to Beaumont and Fletcher alone, Fletcher's hand is not apparent until the play is well advanced. (p. 36).

(2) As to the Fletcher-Massinger plays—

A somewhat different plan was followed by Fletcher and Massinger, Massinger customarily taking the first and last acts, and Fletcher the major part of the three intervening. (p. 37).

(3) As to the method common to all—

In the continuous co-operation of Fletcher with Beaumont and of Fletcher with Massinger, a fixed method of collaboration, based on a structural division [that is, one by acts and scenes] rather than a division of subject-matter, was held to pretty consistently. (p. 36). . . . Under neither arrangement was it usual for one author to have exclusive charge of a separate plot or character, as Ford did in *The Witch of Edmonton*. Fletcher simply brought to completion a plot already far advanced by Beaumont, or carried on a story begun by Massinger and to be finished by him. (p. 37).

Professor Thompson's theory, then, is that "a fixed method of collaboration, based on a *structural division* rather than a division of subject-matter, was that used in the case of all three dramatists.

In opposition to the above theory Miss O. L. Hatcher in *Fletcher's Habits of Dramatic Collaboration* showed very conclusively that, although his method of approach was the correct one, Professor Thompson had assumed, to a greater extent than was his right, an agreement among critics as to the first two stages of the problem: namely, the definite assignment of plays to individual authors, and the apportionment of the parts of these plays

to the respective collaborators. Miss Hatcher found very naturally that the non-agreement among Fleay, Boyle, Oliphant, Macaulay, and others "reduced the problem to its first stage of uncertainty, whereas Mr. Thompson had passed on to the third, assuming agreement in the two lower stages." Miss Hatcher's conclusions may thus be stated in her own words:

The truth is that beyond personal conjecture, frankly stated as such, we cannot do much more to solve this problem of the collaborations of Fletcher with Massinger or indeed with Beaumont. Critical assignments do not bear out the theory that Massinger habitually began and ended the plays, Fletcher working only on the middle portion, nor does there seem on the face of things any reason why such a division of labour should have been effected. (p. 228). . . . Certainly if we must have a theory as to Fletcher's habits of collaboration, that of division by subject-matter has every advantage over the more mechanical method. (p. 229). . . . Unless critics agree as to the assignment of entire plays and of a due proportion of them, we have no safe foundation for inferences as to the habits of the partnerships, and the danger is lest we shall build one uncertainty upon another, and so confound confusion. (p. 231).

We have, then, four possible conclusions to be derived from a review of the articles in question. First, as Miss Hatcher seems to think, we cannot at present ascertain *what* method was followed. Second, as Professor Thompson concludes, the method used was that based on structural division. Third, as Miss Hatcher intimates is possible, the method used was that based on a division of subject-matter. Fourth, a combination of the two or no method at all was used. Miss Hatcher's general conclusion that in our present state of knowledge "we cannot do much more to solve

this problem" is, it seems to me, seriously open to question. In fact, the concluding statement of her article shows just how we *can* do more. And it will be the purpose of this study to adopt the method proposed by Professor Thompson, subject to the needed criticism of Miss Hatcher, in an endeavor to contribute somewhat to a comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the actual conditions under which Beaumont and Fletcher and Massinger and Fletcher collaborated in the production of plays.

I assume confidently, then, that it is possible to add something to what we already know. And in the present investigation I propose to take the following steps. First, I shall examine the entire corpus of plays (75 in number) with which Beaumont, Fletcher, or Massinger had anything whatever to do. I shall proceed through the first stage—the definite assignment of plays to individual authors—by separating these 75 plays into the following six classes: (1) Those by Beaumont alone. (2) Those by Fletcher alone. (3) Those by Massinger alone. (4) Those in which Beaumont and Fletcher alone were employed in genuine collaboration. (5) Those in which Massinger and Fletcher collaborated. (6) Those which may be classed as a residuum, including all plays which for various reasons are not clearly and definitely to be put in one of the other five classes. In making this separation I shall take as my basis the conclusions of Fleay, Boyle, Oliphant, and Macaulay. But I shall supplement these conclusions by the opin-

ions of five other critics: Ward, Thorndike, Schelling, Gayley, and Miss Hatcher. The testimony of other historians, editors, and men of letters will also be given its due place as a corrective. And here a word may be said regarding the weight that should be attributed to the failure of one critic to assent with absolute accord to the assignment of authorship or the apportionment of scenes which have secured among all the remaining critics universal approval. The mere fact that Oliphant, for example, attributes a few lines of a scene to a third author when all others agree in assigning them to one of our collaborators cannot, according to all sound laws of judgment, be allowed to throw a particular play out of court. To ask for *absolute* agreement among critics of such diverse training, habits of thought, and prepossession would be asking almost the impossible. What we *do* demand in all stages of this inquiry is *virtual* unanimity, and that is all that we have a right to demand.

Having secured the two bodies of plays which all have virtually agreed are the product of genuine collaboration on the part of Beaumont and Fletcher and Massinger and Fletcher respectively, we may proceed to the second stage, determining the exact apportionment of scenes among these authors based on a detailed comparison of all the individual assignments that have so far been made by critics, chiefly Fleay, Boyle, Oliphant, and Macaulay. We shall then be able to eliminate from consideration altogether those plays which contain too many

doubtful scenes to form a good basis for judgment. Some plays which we retain will, of course, contain a very few doubtful scenes, but these scenes will not be considered as a basis for judgment at any stage of the study.

With these two stages passed, with our two bodies of plays assigned with virtual certainty to either Beaumont and Fletcher or Massinger and Fletcher and apportioned with approximate entirety and certainty to their respective authors, we may proceed to the third and final stage—the determination, from our material, of the actual conditions and methods which obtained in the collaboration of these plays. We may take the two contrasted and conceivable methods above indicated as two working hypotheses. We shall first test out, by detailed analysis, the soundness of the “structural division” theory. We shall then test out the “subject-matter” theory. Finally, we may be able to decide whether either of these, or both of them, or neither of them will explain the production of the collaborated plays of Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger. At one of these conclusions we shall be forced to arrive.

Dividing into classes the 75 plays in which one or more of the dramatists is thought to have had a hand, we arrive at the following six groups:

- (1) Beaumont alone: *The Masque of Grayes Inne* and *the Inner Temple*, *The Woman Hater*—2
- (2) Fletcher alone: *Bonduca*, *The Chances*, *The Faithfull Shepheardesse*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *The Island Princesse*, *The Loyal Sub-*

ject, The Mad Lover, Monsieur Thomas, The Pilgrim, Rule a Wife and Have a Wife, Valentinian, A Wife for a Month, The Wild-Goose Chase, Wit Without Money, The Womans Prize, Women Pleas'd—16

- (3) Massinger alone: *The Bashful Lover, Believe as you List, The Bondman, The City Madam, The Duke of Millaine, The Emperour of the East, The Great Duke of Florence, The Guardian, The Maid of Honour, A New Way to Pay Old Debts, The Parliament of Love, The Picture, The Renegado, The Roman Actor, The Unnaturall Combat—15*
- (4) Beaumont and Fletcher: *A King and no King, The Maides Tragedy, Philaster, The Scorneful Ladie—4*
- (5) Massinger and Fletcher: *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt, The Beggars Bush, The Custome of the Countrey, The Double Marriage, The Elder Brother, The False One, The Little French Lawyer, The Lovers' Progress, The Prophetesse, The Spanish Curate, A Very Woman—11*
- (6) Miscellaneous: *The Bloody Brother, The Capitaine, The Coxcombe, Cupid's Revenge, The Faire Maide of the Inne, The Faithful Friends, The Fatall Dowry, Four Plays in One, The Honest Man's Fortune, King Henry VIII, The Knight of the Burning Pestle, The Knight of Malta, The Lawes of Candy, Loves Cure, Loves Pilgrimage, The Maid in the Mill, The Nice Valour, The Night-Walker, The Noble Gentleman, The Old Law, The Queene of*

Corinth, The Sea Voyage, Thierry and Theodore, The Two Noble Kinsmen, The Virgin Martir, The Widdow, Wit at Severall Weapons
—27

We have, then, to start with four plays by Beaumont and Fletcher and eleven plays by Massinger and Fletcher. The only plays about which any doubt might be raised are *Philaster, The Elder Brother, The Prophetess, and A Very Woman*. But a careful weighing of the evidence shows that the tendency to disagreement regarding the authorship of the first and the suspicion that the last three are partly the result of revision are so slight as to make the inclusion of all wholly reasonable. Proceeding to the apportionment of scenes in these plays, we find that three, namely, *The Double Marriage, The Little French Lawyer, and The Lovers' Progress*, must be discarded as containing too many doubtful scenes. The remainder, four by Beaumont and Fletcher and eight by Massinger and Fletcher, may stand as sufficiently stable material to work with. It will perhaps with some reason be objected that this is a small number of plays upon which to base generalizations. It is certainly smaller than we could wish. But we must be content to begin with certainties. And this number is not after all a small proportion of the total number of plays in which we may reasonably judge these authors possibly to have joined in genuine collaboration. Deducting the 33 plays written by these respective authors alone, we have left only 42 plays which they *could* have written together.

And a brief scrutiny of this list will show that, after discarding the revised plays and those which were the product of three authors or of two authors one of whom was not one of our three, we have left a very small number which, if we had all the data, we should be able to assign definitely to Beaumont and Fletcher or to Massinger and Fletcher as the product of genuine collaboration. And of this small number our 12 plays will be found to form a very respectable proportion, amply large enough to serve as a sound basis for generalizations. As space will not permit me to give the complete tables showing in just how far Fleay, Boyle, Oliphant, Macaulay, and the other critics agree, I shall merely give all those instances in each of the plays in which these critics are not in absolute accord. All agree as to the apportionment of scenes, with the following exceptions: *Scornful Lady*, Act I, sc. 2; Act II, sc. 1 and 3. *Philaster*, Act I, sc. 1; Act II, sc. 2 and 4. *Maid's Tragedy*, Act II, sc. 2; Act V, sc. 2; *Prophetess*, Act IV, sc. 1; Act V, sc. 1. *Elder Brother*, Act V, sc. 1. *Beggars Bush*, Act II, sc. 2 and 3; Act V, sc. 1 and 2. *Spanish Curate*, Act IV, sc. 2. *Very Woman*, Act II, sc. 3; Act III, sc. 3; Act IV, sc. 2. *Custom of the Country*, Act V, sc. 5. *Barnavelt*, Act V, sc. 1. Out of 209 scenes in these 12 plays we have disagreement as to only 21, or 10%, surely not a large enough percentage to affect at all seriously our conclusions. These 21 scenes, moreover, will at no time be considered as material for our study. When, further, we consider that in the great ma-

jority of cases the disagreement results because of only one critic's admittedly odd and ill-supported conclusions, we see much more clearly that these 12 plays are thoroughly sound material for discussion.

With these 12 plays and only those scenes in them about which there is absolute agreement, we may proceed to test out the first theory—that structural division was the basis of collaboration. Examining the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, we find that of the 20 acts in the four plays $11\frac{1}{3}$ are Beaumont's, $5\frac{2}{3}$ Fletcher's, and 3 doubtful. Obviously, Beaumont is predominant, almost 2 to 1, so far as mere amount of material is concerned. In what part of the plays now do these respective authors come in? Beaumont begins and ends 3 of the 4 plays. Beaumont also has 7-12 of the three middle acts (2, 3, 4). Fletcher begins none of the plays, ends only one, and has less than half of the remaining parts.¹ Clearly, the simple conclusion is that Beaumont was the guiding hand in the plays—he began, he ended, and he filled in. There is certainly no indication of a "fixed method of collaboration based on structure." Still less does it appear that "Fletcher simply brought to completion a plot already far advanced by Beaumont."

With the Massinger-Fletcher plays we get more definite results, with an apparent corroboration of Thompson's theory. Out of 40 acts Massinger

¹ I regret that space will not permit me, in reporting the results of this and all subsequent analyses, to give the data on each play. I give in all cases merely the totals for each group of plays.

has $16\frac{2}{3}$, Fletcher $19\frac{1}{3}$, doubtful 4. Fletcher is slightly predominant. Massinger begins 6 of the plays, and he ends 4 of them. Fletcher, on the other hand, begins only 2 and ends only 2, whereas he has two-thirds of the middle acts. It is thus apparent that Massinger concentrated considerable attention on the beginning and end, whereas Fletcher did most of the filling in. This, however, does not necessarily mean that a structural division was the principle upon which the dramatists acted to produce these results. May it not be merely accidental? May not some other principle have been the real one, producing through the operation of its laws these merely *apparent* indications of a structural division? This I shall attempt to show later on.

In the case of the Beaumont-Fletcher plays, then, structural division did not obtain. It *may* have obtained in the Massinger-Fletcher plays, though our later discussion will show this to have been highly improbable.

Turning now to the second hypothesis, that a division of subject-matter determined the respective parts written by the collaborators, we discern two possible avenues of approach. We may suppose the individual authors to have been inclined toward certain types of *character* and consequently to have developed these types, either tacitly or by agreement. Or we may suppose them to have favored certain types of *action* and to have divided the plot of a particular play between them for more or less separate development. We

may test out this theory, then, first by analyzing the types of character developed by each, and second by determining the character of the plot evolved by each, with the view of determining what, if any, method may have been followed on the basis of a division of subject-matter.

To obtain the material for an analysis of the *dramatis personae* I have first gone through each play, listing scene by scene the entrance of every character, and indicating whether or not he had a speaking part. From this list I have tabulated the following data: (1) The total number of characters, both speaking and non-speaking, developed in the Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, and doubtful scenes of each play and of each group of plays. (2) The total number of appearances of each character (each scene counting as one appearance), both speaking and non-speaking, in the same scenes of each play and each group of plays. Obviously, two further steps might be taken to make the analysis complete, the listing of the total number of speeches of each character, and the tabulation of the total number of lines spoken by each character. The labor involved in these steps, however, was beyond the scope of the present investigation, if after all it would be worth the pains to perform it. The lists I have compiled show (1) That Beaumont and Fletcher employed about the same number of characters, but that Beaumont had more than twice the number of character appearances that Fletcher had, exceeding him in all but *The Scornful Lady*. (2)

That Fletcher developed a considerably greater number of characters than did Massinger, exceeding him in all plays but *A Very Woman* and *The Custom of the Country*, and that Fletcher had also a much greater number of character appearances, exceeding Massinger in all but *The Prophetess*, *A Very Woman*, and *The Custom of the Country*.

On the basis of these lists I have analyzed the characters developed from two points of view. I have first made the simple classification of male and female characters. Mechanical though it seems, this classification must of course be made as a basis for others, and it will yield incidentally some fruitful results not at first apparent. The second classification is that of what I have called "exalted" and "low" characters. In using these terms I have had in mind two things: relative rank in society and relative seriousness and nobility of character. For example, in *A King and No King* Arbaces and Panthea would both be termed "exalted." But of Mardonius and Bessus, both of whom are captains and thus of equal rank, Mardonius is "exalted" and Bessus "low." Likewise the Sword-men and Shop-men would be called "low." I have excluded from consideration all characters *who do not speak and who lend no color to the play*. Thus, in the Beaumont-Fletcher plays I have excluded 19 appearances of the following: soldiers, guards, officers, attendants, servants, pages, waiting-women, lords, and ladies. In the Massinger-Fletcher plays I have omitted 49 appearances of the same types of character.

The results of the first analysis of character in the Beaumont, Fletcher, and doubtful scenes of the Beaumont-Fletcher group are as follows:

MALE AND FEMALE CHARACTERS
(No. of appearances)

	B	F	?
Male	147	78	33
Female	56	20	18
	<u>203</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>51</u>

= 352 + 3 neutrals = 355

Thus, of the total number of his character appearances, 27% of Beaumont's are women, 20% of Fletcher's, and 34% of those in the doubtful scenes. Of the total number in the combined Beaumont, Fletcher, and doubtful parts, Beaumont has 59%, Fletcher 21%, doubtful 20%. It is thus apparent that Fletcher gave far less attention to the female characters than did Beaumont. And this fact will be easily explained when we notice later on Fletcher's fondness for the type of action in which, oftentimes, men alone figure, instanced in the Bessus scenes of *A King and No King* and in some of the Young Loveless scenes in *The Scornful Lady*.

Turning to the "exalted" and "low" types of characters in the same group we get the following results:

EXALTED AND LOW CHARACTERS
(No. of appearances)

	B	F	?
Exalted	174	57	37
Low	30	42	15
	<u>204</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>52</u>

= 355

Thus, of the total number of his appearances, 14% of Beaumont's are low, whereas 41% of Fletcher's are low, and 29% doubtful. Of the total number in the three combined parts, Beaumont has 35% of the low characters, Fletcher 48%, and doubtful 17%. It is thus obvious that Fletcher predominated in the development of the lower types of character, not only when merely his own contributions are concerned, but when the combined contributions of both authors are considered.

So much for the character analysis of the Beaumont-Fletcher plays. The results from the analysis of the Massinger-Fletcher group are slightly different in the first case and about the same in the second classification. For the male and female characters we get the following:

MALE AND FEMALE CHARACTERS

(No. of appearances)

	M	F	?
Male	309	392	75
Female	56	74	18
	<hr/> 365	<hr/> 466	<hr/> 93 = 924 + 10 neutrals = 934

Thus, of the total number of his character appearances, 15% of Massinger's are women, 16% of Fletcher's, 24% doubtful. Of the total number in the combined parts Massinger has 38%, Fletcher 50%, doubtful 12%. In this case, then, the relative preference of the authors for female characters is about the same, though of the total number

of women who appear in all parts of the plays Fletcher has a greater number than Massinger.

Turning to the "exalted" and "low" characters in this group, we secure the following data:

EXALTED AND LOW CHARACTERS

(No. of appearances)

	M	F	?
Exalted	271	296	69
Low	95	175	28
	<hr/> 366	<hr/> 471	<hr/> 97 = 934

Thus, of the total number of character appearances, 26% of Massinger's are low, 37% of Fletcher's, and 29% doubtful. Of the total number in the combined parts Massinger has 32%, Fletcher 58%, and doubtful 10%. Even more strongly than in the Beaumont-Fletcher group, then, is Fletcher inclined in the Massinger-Fletcher plays to the development of "low" characters, taking as he does a considerably higher percentage of his own characters from low life than does Massinger, and having almost twice the number of low character appearances that Massinger has.

Summing up our conclusions regarding the employment of character types in these two groups of plays, we may say that in working with Beaumont Fletcher developed a smaller number of women than did Beaumont, and that he developed much the larger percentage of the characters from low life. These two conclusions are obviously consistent, since in the plays under consideration

far the greater number of the low characters are men. In the Massinger-Fletcher plays the two authors gave practically the same relative attention to the female characters, though of the total number of appearances of women in the plays Fletcher had a greater number than Massinger. As in the Beaumont-Fletcher plays, Fletcher had the preponderance in the appearance of low characters on the stage. These latter conclusions, it should be noted, are also consistent, since in the Massinger-Fletcher group of plays a far greater number of women are among the low characters than in the Beaumont-Fletcher group (e. g. Lilly in *The Elder Brother* and Sulpitia in *The Custom of the Country*). This accounts, then, for the fact that though Fletcher is predominant in the employment of low characters in both groups, he employs fewer women than does Beaumont and more women than does Massinger.

A number of other classifications will suggest themselves to the analyst of character, such as the relative use made of supernumeraries, the relative employment of exalted and low women, the relative preference for the various professions and stations in life, such as the soldier, the priest, the ruler, the physician, the merchant, and so forth. But the classifications above made will serve as a basis for some general conclusions and as a foundation for further investigation.

So much for character analysis—the first of the two aspects of the analysis of subject-matter which may be studied with a view to determining the

method used in collaboration. The other aspect is the analysis of the plot itself. How far did these three authors divide the plot among them according to definite plot characteristics? In making this study we are, as in the case of character analysis, attracted to two very obvious classifications. The first is the division of the plots of the respective plays into their serious and comic scenes. The second is the separation of the main plot from the sub-plot. The terms used in the latter classification need no definition. A scene is classed as a part of the main plot when it contributes to the forwarding of the principal action of the play; it is classed with the sub-plot when it forwards the minor action or merely causes a temporary diversion from the main action. In the first of these analyses, however, we are confronted with the difficulty of defining the terms "comic" and "serious." Obviously, there are high comedy and low comedy, the polite burlesque characteristic of Beaumont and the more or less coarse farce with which the name of Fletcher is oftener associated. We might be accused of begging the question if we were first to restrict the term "comic" to a type of comedy which we knew at the outset to be characteristic of one author, and then proceeded to get the data that would practically rule out of consideration the comedy of all but this one author. I have, therefore, used the term "comic" to designate those scenes which furnish a relief, even though brief, from the "serious" or *main* purpose of the plot. The familiar term

“comic relief” will, I think, not be misunderstood if I use it to describe the principle of this classification. For example, the Calianax scenes in *The Maid’s Tragedy* I have classed as “comic” equally with the Bessus-Sword-Men scenes in *A King and No King*. Likewise, I have used the term “serious” in a broad sense. Clearly, for example, the greater part of *A King and No King* is genuinely serious, and the comic parts separate themselves easily because of the contrast. *The Scornful Lady*, however, is all comedy, though of two different kinds; and I have called the main action of this play (the Elder Loveless plot) serious, since only under such an interpretation can the greater part of the underplot (the Young Loveless scenes) be construed as “comic relief.” Without something from which to be “relieved” there can be no “relief.”

Entering then upon this first analysis, which I have made on the basis of the actual number of lines employed, we get the following results in the Beaumont-Fletcher plays:

SERIOUS AND COMIC ACTION
(No. of lines)

	B	F	?
Serious	5944	2040	1076
Comic	737	1035	345
	<hr/> 6681	<hr/> 3075	<hr/> 1421
	= 11,177		

Thus, of the total number of lines contributed by each, 11% of Beaumont’s are comic, 33% of

Fletcher's, 24% doubtful. Of the total number in the combined parts, Beaumont furnishes 35%, Fletcher 48%, doubtful 17%. It is thus apparent that even under the broad interpretation of the term "comic" Fletcher is predominant in the development of the comic action, both in the relative number of comic lines furnished by him and Beaumont and in the percentage which he furnished of the total number of comic lines in all parts of the plays. If, however, we were to subtract from Beaumont's contribution those lines of his in *King and No King* and *Maid's Tragedy* (466 in number) which are not low comedy but burlesque, we should find that his contribution to low comedy is merely 271 lines, or only 4% of the total number of his lines in the plays. And, counting 1651 lines of low comedy in all, we should find Beaumont to have furnished 16%, Fletcher 63%, doubtful 21%. It is thus more than ever demonstrable that to Fletcher was given the greater part of the "comic relief" of the plays, to say nothing of his almost complete monopoly of the distinctly low comedy scenes.

Turning now to the division of main and sub-plot among the three parts in the Beaumont-Fletcher group, we secure the following data:

MAIN AND SUB-PLOT
(No. of lines)

	B	F	?
Main	6511	2083	1118
Sub	<u>170</u>	<u>992</u>	<u>303</u>
	6681	3075	1421 = 11,177

Thus, of the total number of lines contributed by each, 2% of Beaumont's concern the sub-plot, 32% of Fletcher's, 21% doubtful. Of the total number of lines in the combined parts, Beaumont has 11% in the sub-plot, Fletcher 67%, doubtful 22%. Even more conclusive, then, than in the analysis of serious and comic action is the proof that Fletcher practically monopolized the sub-plot in these plays. This conclusion is of course perfectly harmonious with the previous one that he had most of the comic action, for, on the whole, the "comic relief" is apt to coincide to a great extent with the sub-plot.

Turning, finally, to the Massinger-Fletcher group for the results of our two analyses of plot, we get as a division of comic and serious scenes the following:

SERIOUS AND COMIC ACTION

(No. of lines)

	M	F	?
Serious	7394	7542	2070
Comic	74	3123	135
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	7468	10,665	2205 = 20,338

Thus, of the total number of lines contributed by each, 1% of Massinger's are comic, 30% of Fletcher's, 6% doubtful. Of the total number of comic lines in the combined parts, Massinger has 2%, Fletcher 94%, doubtful 4%. This is overwhelming evidence that Fletcher practically wrote the "comic relief" of all these plays.

Our results from the analysis of main and sub-plot are equally striking. They are as follows:

MAIN AND SUB-PLOT

(No. of lines)

	M	F	?
Main	6779	8101	2071
Sub	689	2564	134
	<hr/> 7468	<hr/> 10665	<hr/> 2205
	= 20,338		

Thus, of the total number of lines contributed by each, 9% of Massinger's concern the sub-plot, 24% of Fletcher's, 6% doubtful. Of the total number of lines in all parts of the plays, Massinger has 20% in the sub-plot, Fletcher 76%, doubtful 4%. The great bulk of the sub-plot, then, was taken care of by Fletcher. In fact, were it not for Massinger's share in the sub-plot of *The Custom of the Country*, which occupies 538 lines, there would remain practically nothing of sub-plot in his whole contribution, whereas Fletcher has a substantial number of lines of sub-plot in all the plays which have any sub-plot at all.

Summing up our conclusions regarding the division of plot among our three authors, we may say that in working with Beaumont Fletcher furnished a considerable majority of the comic lines in the parts which are definitely ascribed to these respective authors, and if we consider merely the low comedy lines of the plays Fletcher is very decidedly predominant. Of the sub-plot in these plays Fletcher furnished much the greatest part.

In working with Massinger, Fletcher furnished an even greater proportion of the comic lines, 94% of the total number. And he furnished hardly a lesser proportion of the sub-plot, 76% to be exact. It is not unreasonable, then, to conclude that in both groups of plays Fletcher was given or took over the management of practically all of the "comic relief" and the sub-plot, whereas Beaumont and Massinger developed the serious action and the main plot.

To what conclusion does our evidence point? It would seem certain, for one thing, that we can know more about this problem of collaboration. We have tested the two most plausible theories as to the methods employed. There is little evidence to substantiate the first of these—that a division was made on the basis of structure. The Beaumont-Fletcher group flatly opposes this theory. In the Massinger-Fletcher plays we noticed an apparent corroboration of this theory which we are now ready to pronounce as *merely* apparent and accidental. For, since we know from our analyses of plot that Fletcher took over most of the comic action and the sub-plot, whereas Massinger developed the serious action and the main plot, it is quite obvious that Massinger was the logical one to *begin* and *end* such plays as *The Elder Brother*, *The Spanish Curate*, and *A Very Woman* with the serious and main action, leaving Fletcher to fill in and interweave the comic action and the sub-plot. To say, then, that a structural division prevailed when the division of subject-matter completely

accounts for these phenomena, would be to adopt a wholly unnecessary and artificial explanation in the presence of an irresistible and natural one. In favor of the subject-matter theory, on the other hand, it seems to me our evidence is fairly conclusive. We find that in four plays Fletcher developed a greater percentage of low characters, fewer women, a greater proportion of the comic action, and a much greater part of the sub-plot than did Beaumont. All of these four conclusions, consistent with each other, point decidedly to a division of subject-matter between the authors on the above basis. More conclusive still, however, is the proof that in working with Massinger, taking as we have seen a much greater percentage of the low characters, about the same number of women, a decidedly greater part of the comic action, and a heavy preponderance of the sub-plot, Fletcher contributed his part on the basis of a subject-matter division. As to which of the two authors in the Beaumont-Fletcher and in the Massinger-Fletcher plays was the guiding hand we cannot clearly decide, though it seems strongly probable that Beaumont and Massinger were respectively the leaders for Fletcher, at least so far as the actual building of the plays was concerned. That other principles, some of them depending on accidents of time, subject, and so forth, may have entered in to determine in part the collaborators' methods of work, no one will deny. But it seems fairly certain that at least this one principle did apply, and that Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger collaborated in the pro-

duction of plays on the basis of a fairly definite division of subject-matter. To Fletcher fell in both cases the development of the lower types of character, the production of the comic action, and the evolution of the sub-plot. Beaumont and Massinger confined themselves to the exalted characters, the serious action, and the main plot.

AN OBSOLETE ELIZABETHAN MODE OF RHYMING

R. E. NEIL DODGE

Readers of *Venus and Adonis* who are not tempted by the length of the poem into driving on faster than they can keep in touch with the verse will notice a curious rhyme in the 126th stanza (11. 757-762):

What is thy body but a swallowing grave
Seeming to bury that posterity
Which by the rights of time thou needs must have,
If thou destroy them not in dark obscurity?
If so, the world will hold thee in disdain,
Sith in thy pride so fair a hope is slain.

Posteri-ty : *ob-scú-ri-ty*, the rhyming of a monosyllabic with a trisyllabic verse ending. Though *Venus and Adonis* is manifestly finished with great care, it would seem as if this rhyme must be the result of momentary inattention. In a more modern poet it would certainly imply that. In Mr. W. E. Leonard's *Aesop and Hyssop*, for example, when we read of the pigeon that lit on the tarred roof,

Her claws
And wing-tips soon were smeared; and grievous laws
Of hot and glutinous viscosity
Entangled her. And, lo, a black monstrosity
Was she, and helpless as a sucking farrow—

we can see just what has happened. Having juggled for the better part of a volume with all manner of fantastic rhymes, the poet has let one slip through his fingers. *Viscosi-tý: mon-strócity* is pure carelessness, allowed to stand, perhaps, because it is unexpected. The rhyme in *Venus and Adonis* may have the same origin.

If that be so, then Shakespeare blundered again in *The Rape of Lucrece*, stanza 50 (ll. 351-357):

Then Love and Fortune be my gods, my guide!
My will is back'd with resolution:
Thoughts are but dreams till their effects be tri'd;
The blackest sin is clear'd with absolution;
Against love's fire fear's frost hath dissolution.
The eye of heaven is out, and misty night
Covers the shame that follows sweet delight.

Here, of course, the rhyme-words themselves might be pitfalls, for in the verse of Shakespeare's day a poet had his choice between old-fashioned *resoluti-ón* and new-fashioned *reso-lútion*, and in the course of composing his stanza might chance to forget which form he had adopted at the beginning. It is perhaps worth noting that for this stanza the Capell MS. of 1769 offers an emendation. Capell, being particularly interested in Shakespeare's metre, had perceived the irregularity of *resoluti-ón*, *abso-lútion*, *disso-lútion*, and to remove it suggested:

My will is back'd with *dauntless* resolution—

which effectually restores the balance. For the rhyme in *Venus and Adonis* he had apparently

no suggestion to make—and indeed it appears to be beyond easy and plausible emendation.

A third passage in Shakespeare's poems was more manageable, the second quatrain of Sonnet 45:

For when these quicker elements are gone
In tender embassy of love to thee,
My life, being made of four, with two alone
Sinks down to death, oppress'd with melancholy.

Capell, observing that *thee: melan-chóly* is, to say the least, according to modern standards, very lax, and being doubtless aware that in the poetry of Shakespeare's day the second of these words could still be accented as if it were French, as in the line from the *Faery Queen* (I, v, 3)

To drive away the dull melancholy—

proposed for the last line of the quatrain

Sinks down to death *press'd* by melancholy.

If he had had the use of a modern concordance, he might have observed, on the other hand, that whenever Shakespeare brings the word into his verse (which he does some forty times) he always gives it the modern accent, *mélanchóly*. This fact would seem to dispose not only of Capell's emendation but of the chance that the original rhyme is the result of heedlessness. *Posteri-tý: ob-scúritý* might be an oversight, and also *resolúti-ón : abso-lúti-on*; but *thee : melan-chóly* is too glaring to be accounted for in that way. The poet, as he wrote, must have been aware of it. And

it does not seem attributable to blundering by the type-setter.

This odd rhyme is matched by another in the Epilogue to *Henry VIII*:

All the expected good we're like to hear
For this play, at this time, is only in
The merciful construction of good women—

upon which Collier has the following note in his second edition of Shakespeare, 1858:—‘The faultiness of this line and its predecessor, in point of rhyme, has been remarked upon by various commentators, but they have failed to point out any instance where “women” is made to rhyme with “only in”. We more than suspect some corruption It would have required very little ingenuity to amend the defect, and possibly something of this sort was originally written

All the expected good we're like to hear
For this play, at this time, we shall not owe men,
But merciful construction of good women.

. . . . Without the slightest partiality for our own experiment, all we contend for is, that the defective rhyme betokens corruption.’

This epilogue is, by general consent, not Shakespeare's. Gifford denied vigorously that it was written by Jonson, to whom eighteenth century critics ascribed it; but its odd rhyme may serve to introduce another in Jonson's 133rd Epigram emended by Gifford himself:

This wherry had no sail, too; ours had none:
And in it, two more horrid knaves than Charon.

Here, unable to tolerate the discord, he substituted for *none*, *ne'er one*. *Ne'er one*: *Charon* is sufficiently ingenious to deserve some praise. Gifford must have noticed, however, that there are several other such rhymes in Jonson's non-dramatic verse, enough to make a discreet editor, of even those spacious times, hesitate to emend any one of them away because he did not like or understand it and could think of a plausible substitute. A list of them may at this point be worth while:

And Giles would never,
By his free-will, be in Joan's company:
No more would Joan he should. Giles riseth early....

Epigram 42

Hath chang'd his soul, and made his object you:
Where, finding so much beauty met with virtue....

Epigram 114

When gold was made no weapon to cut throats,
Or put to flight *Astraea*, when her ingots....

The Forest 12

She is the judge, thou executioner;
Or if thou needs wouldst trench upon her power....

Underwoods: *Execration upon Vulcan*, 1.47 f.

To have that final retribution,
Expected with the flesh's restitution.

Underwoods: *Elegy on my Muse*, 1.49 f.

Better be dumb than superstitious:

Who violates the Godhead is most vicious.

Underwoods: *Elegy on my Muse*, 1.73 f.

When these scattering rhymes from Shakespeare and Jonson are brought together in a group, it becomes evident that to treat any one of them by itself as manifestly 'corrupt' will not do. They may be vicious, but they are not casual. They follow an observable law of their own, which can be formulated. Clearly, in these two poets, a double or a

triple verse ending (*early, merrily*) may on occasion rhyme with the normal verse ending of one stressed syllable (*thee, agrée, etc.*) if its concluding syllable, however light, corresponds. Moreover, as will be shown, Shakespeare and Jonson are by no means the only two poets concerned. What we have here is a bygone mode of rhyming so alien to our main traditions that we can hardly believe it was ever recognized by reputable moderns. To follow its course through Elizabethan poetry is the aim of the present paper.¹

A few points by way of limitation or guidance. In the first place, this study takes no account of the drama in any of its forms; for to sift out the scattering couplets and passages in rhyme from the great body of Elizabethan dramatic blank verse seemed a labor not likely to be worth while. In the second place, it deals exclusively with poetry in the heroic verse, often called 'iambic pentameter.' Casual examples of the kind of rhyme under investigation may probably exist in longer or shorter measures (though I have found none), but the heroic verse seems to be the verse in which that rhyme, as known to the Elizabethans, first made itself respectable, and is certainly the verse in which it mainly flourished. In the third place, the rhyme can be classed with certainty only when

¹ Guest in his *History of English Rhythms* (I, 145-147) glances at the practice, without attempting to follow it down the line. Schipper in his *Englische Metrik* (I, 303, note 2, and II, 143-145) carries the discussion of this "kaum glaubliches Unding" somewhat further, but again with no attempt to trace its course. What he has to say is in good part grounded on Rudolf Alscher's *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, p. 119-126. Nobody seems to have been aware how widespread the practice was.

there is no fair question possible about the movement or scansion of the verse. The matter may be illustrated by the example already given from Jonson—*The Forest* 12. In the second line,

Or put to flight Astraea when her ingots,

‘Astraea’ may either be read as three full syllables or slurred into two, and upon one’s choice will depend whether or not ‘ingots’ is to be accented on the first syllable or on the second. Contemporary practice seems to allow either. This rhyme, therefore, is to be entered as doubtful.

The remote origins of such rhyming need not detain us. It was practised long before Chaucer and the heroic verse, and it was not unknown to the versifiers of the fifteenth century religious drama. How it ever won acceptance into the educated poetry of the Renaissance might repay investigation. One possibility may be suggested. In Chaucer himself there are no such rhymes—at least, not in the length and breadth of the *Canterbury Tales*: there the rhymes are all, in this regard, exact. To the men of the early sixteenth century, however, Chaucer was of course not known in his original text, and if one examines Thynne’s edition of 1532, one can see how misleading his supposed example might be. In the interval the accentuation of English had been steadily changing; it was changing now more than ever; and the result was naturally a disastrous disorganization of rhyme. In the *Knight’s Tale*, for instance (A 1385) Chaucer wrote

Him thoughte how that the winged god Mercurie
Biforn him stood, and bad him to be murye.

In Thynne's edition this reads

Him thought howe that the wynged Mercury
Beforne him stode and bade him to be mery.

The rhyme is evidently *Mercu-rý : méry*. Again, in the *Monk's Tale* (B 3163) Chaucer wrote

Tragedie is to seyn a certeyn storie,
As olde bokes maken us memorie.

Thynne renders it

Tragedy is to tel a certayn story,
As olde bokes maken memory.

Here the rhyme is clearly *stóry : memo-rý*. In the *Tale of the Man of Lawe* (B 197) Chaucer wrote

In sterres, many a winter ther-biforn,
Was writen the deeth of Ector, Achilles,
Of Pompey, Julius, er they were born;
The stryf of Thebes; and of Ercules.

In Thynne's text this appears as

In sterres, many a wynter there byfore,
Was written the deth of Hector and of Achylles,
Of Pompey and Julyus, or they were bore;
The stryfe of Thebes and of Hercules.

Here it would certainly seem that the rhyme gave *A-chýlles : Hercu-lés*. Examples might be multiplied, but these will suffice for the main point, that Chaucer, as he appears in the edition of Thynne, could be cited as authority for this kind of rhyming.

How far the practice prevailed among the followers of Chaucer—Lydgate, Hawes, and the rest—might be examined if the examination could be made to yield definite results. One great obstacle, however, stands in the way, the difficulty of determining just how their verses in any given case, are to be scanned or read. Authorities differ, often with unveiled contempt for each other, and where there is no certainty as to scansion there can seldom be certainty as to rhyme. Presumably, in a period of shifting accents, poets who fared so ill with the metre of their great original would not fare perfectly well with his rhyme, and after all, their authority would be inferior to his. It may be wise, therefore, to proceed at once to Wyatt, who belongs in part, with them, to the old order, though he also helps initiate the new. He presents difficulties enough of his own. His heroic verse is almost, if not quite, as uncertain in movement as theirs, and his rhymes are correspondingly obscure. How far he may have been influenced in his defective rhymes by them is a question that does not much concern the Elizabethans.

Wyatt's metre and rhyme have been discussed thoroughly—in 1886 by Rudolf Alscher, in recent years by A. K. Foxwell: all that need be done here, therefore, is to point out certain tendencies and results. The first fact to be noted is his taste, more particularly perhaps in his early verse, for ending his lines with words of more than one syllable—a taste that he probably derived from the Chaucerians. A second fact is that the final syl-
la-

bles of these words are often mere forms of inflection, *-eth*, *-ing*, *-ed*, etc. A third fact is that he holds to no settled habit in the accentuation of words, stressing sometimes the final syllable, whatever it may be, sometimes an antecedent root syllable. An extraordinary number of his lines end with syllables naturally light, and these sometimes bear the whole burden of the rhyme, sometimes not. The result is naturally a number of rhymes that have every appearance of being, in one way or another, defective. In any one case, the question depends, of course, on how the line as a whole is to be scanned, and here, as has been said, the difficulty is to be sure. As good an example as any is the epigram quoted by Guest (I, 146). It is given here with the spelling, for convenience, slightly less archaic, and the punctuation modernized.

Ryght true it is, and said full yore ago,
‘Take heed of him that by thy back thee claweth’;
For none is wourse than is a friendly foe,
Though they seem good. All thing that thee deliteth,
Yet knowe it well, that in thy bosom creepeth.
For many a man such fier oft kindeleth
That with the blaze his beard singeth.

Here it seems evident that the second, fourth and fifth lines have their last metrical stress on the penult, and that in these double endings it is the light syllable (*-eth*) that alone carries the rhyme. In the last two lines the metrical stress falls apparently on the *-eth*, which constitutes therefore a masculine rhyme, different from the preceding.

Out of practice like that one might expect almost anything—certainly rhymes of the variety we are investigating. Another epigram seems to give us one of them:

Of Cartage he that worthie warrier
 Could overcome, but could not use his chaunce;
 And I likewise of all my long endeuer. . . .

Warri-ér : en-déver. Another is at the beginning of a sonnet:

I fynde no peace and all my war is done. . . .
 And nought I have and all the worold I seize on
 That looseth nor locketh holdeth me in prison. . . .

Here *seize on* and *prison* rhyme with *done*. Yet another is in Wyatt's version of Psalm 130, in *terza rima*:

From depth of sin and from a deep dispaire,
 From depth of death, from depth of heartes sorrow,
 From this deep cave, of darkness deep repaire,
 To Thee have I call'd, O Lord, to be my borrow.
 Thou in my voyce, O Lord, perceive and hear
 My heart, my hope, my plaint my overthrow. . . .

Sórrrow : bórrow : over-thrów. These among many examples, often doubtful, will suffice for Wyatt.

Wyatt's poetry, however, was known to later Elizabethans mainly in the text of the so-called *Tottel's Miscellany*, a text edited with the idea of reducing his difficult and archaic verse, as far as might be, to the normal iambic movement which had begun to prevail in his later years among his successors. The examples that have been quoted here from the earlier and authentic manuscript

versions are left by Tottel pretty much as they stand, the rhymes unimproved. One may note as a curiosity that, in other passages, Tottel's desire to regularize the metre has resulted in the falsifying of rhymes that in the original are sound. A single instance may be enough. At the outset of one of his sonnets Wyatt wrote

You that in love finde lucke and habundaunce. . . .
Arise, I say, do May some observaunce.

Tottel (that is, his editor), not liking the Romance accent of the first rhyme-word, or thinking that the accent intended was the English *abundance* and the verse therefore defective, inserted a syllable to fill out the measure:

Ye that in love find luck and *swete* abundance.

Since he left the other verse as it stood, there resulted a defective rhyme for which Wyatt, with so many already in his reckoning, was not responsible.

The poetic generation that followed Wyatt was that during which English verse was definitely re-established upon an iambic basis. All the leaders were concerned with regularity of metrical movement. Much of the poetry of the time was written in the most monotonous of English verse-forms, the so-called 'poulter's measure,' which was not only overwhelmingly regular in itself, but a cause that regularity was in other measures, such as heroic verse. In a generation so concerned, one would not look for license in rhyme. English poets rhyme more frequently on monosyllabic words,

and, by comparison with the generation before, their rhymes are exact. One looks in vain in Surrey and Grimald and Googe and Gascoigne for such rhymes as we have noted in Wyatt. Had these men been able to impose their doctrine on all about them, the practice of the old license would have gone completely out of date. Along with them, however, there was a group that had not yet freed itself completely from the former style, the poets of the *Mirror for Magistrates*. Some of these men, George Ferrers, for instance, still wrote in the irregular verse of decadent Chaucerianism, and many of them whose metrical movement was modern rhymed after the old model. Sackville, the only real talent of the group, may be acquitted on that score, if one rules out a rather doubtful rhyme in the 49th stanza of his *Buckingham*. On the excuse of uncertain metre one may also rule out a few probable cases in Ferrers. Enough survive from a cursory examination of the other poets in the group to prove the main point:

But windes and weather were so contrary,
That wee were driven to the English coast,
Which realme with Scotland at that time did vary. . . .

James I, st. 7.

The while King Henry conquered in Fraunce
I sued the warres and still found victory
In all assaultes, so happy was my chaunce.
Holdes yeelde or won did make my enemies sory:
Dame Prudence eke augmented so my glory. . . .

Salisbury, st. 14.

But seing causes are the chieftest thinges
That should be noted of the story wryters,
That men may learne what endes all causes bringes,

They be unworthy the name of chroniclers
That leave them cleane out of theyr registers. . . .
Worcester, st. 5.

To continue would serve no clear purpose. The old tradition was evidently being preserved.

Next come the pair with whom the greater Elizabethan poetry begins, Sidney and Spenser. They are commonly associated, and in many of their ideals they are, needless to say, in agreement. Both, too, were powerfully influenced by the new literature of Italy and France. In temperament, however, they were wholly unlike, and in one obvious point their styles are altogether different: Sidney did not share Spenser's taste for archaism. It will be remembered that he disapproved of the 'old rustic language' of the *Shepherd's Calendar*. One is therefore not surprised to discover that, in the matter of rhymes, he is much more distinctly modern. In both rhyme and metre he was a great experimentalist, the *Eclogues* of the *Arcadia* being a kind of exercise book in exotic measures: in spite, or perhaps because, of this, he allows himself none of the licenses in rhyme that had been tolerated by the older poets. But Spenser, great artist though he was, did not choose to deny himself what he perhaps considered one charm of that earlier poetry in which he so much delighted. All down the line, in his work, one comes upon rhymes of the old order. In the more archaic portions of the *Calendar* the verse proceeds too much by irregular stress for us to be

sure about the rhymes, but cases like the following seem clear (*May*, 99 f.)

That with her hard hold and straight embracing
She stoppeth the breath of her youngling—

where the cadence indicates *em-bracing: youngling*. On the whole, though, the *Calendar* does not well illustrate this style of rhyming. As the poet's first publication, brought out with many misgivings, it was perhaps edited cautiously. In other presumably early work we find more freedom:

Made of the mettall that we most do honour . . .
The ashes of a mightie emperour.

Visions of Bellay III.

Cruell death vanquishing so noble beautie
Oft makes me wayle so hard a destenie.

Visions of Petrarch I.

One foote on Thetis, th' other on the Morning . . .
Both heaven and earth in roundnesse compassing.

Ruins of Rome IV.

The same which Pyrrhus and the puissance
Of Afrike could not tame, that same brave citie,
Which, with stout courage arm'd against mischaunce,
Sustain'd the shooke of common enmitie . . .

Ruins of Rome, XXI.

As we advance to later work the list does not much diminish. In the 'tragicke pageants' that conclude the *Ruins of Time* we find (1. 551 ff.)

Not that great arche which Trajan edifice,
To be a wonder to all age ensuing,
Was matchable to this in equall vewing.
But ah! what bootes it to see earthlie thing . . .

According to the rhyme-scheme adopted for these 'pageants,' *thing* is supposed to rhyme with *en-*

suing, vewing. Mother Hubbard's Tale furnishes several examples:

And his hose broken high above the heeling,
And his shoes beaten out with traveling (l. 213 f.)

And his man Reynold with fine counterfesaunce
Supports his credit and his countenaunce (l. 667 f.)

... blot his brutish name
Unto the world, that never after anie
Should of his race be voyd of infamie. (l. 1240 ff.)

Even *Muiopotmos*, the most delicate and exquisite of his minor poems, is not, in this matter, exact.

It fortun'd (as heavens had behight)
That in this gardin, where yong Clarion
Was wont to solace him, a wicked wight,
The foe of faire things, th' author of confusion
The shame of Nature, the bondslave of spite,
Had lately built his hatefull mansion. . . (l. 241 ff.)

In the poems published during the last few years of his life he continues the practice as before. There are three examples in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, all of the *resoluti-ón-abso-lútion* type that we have found in *The Rape of Lucrece*:

Phyllis, the floure of rare perfection,
Faire spreading forth her leaves with fresh delight,
That, with their beauties amorous reflexion,
Bereave of sence each rash beholders sight. (l. 544 ff.)

There she beholds with high aspiring thought,
The cradle of her owne creation,
Emongst the seats of angels heavenly wrought,
Much like an angell in all forme and fashion. (l. 612 ff.)

But man, that had the sparke of reasons might,
More then the rest to rule his passion,
Chose for his love the fairest in his sight,
Like as himself was fairest by creation. (l. 867ff.)

Another example of the same type is to be found in the *Hymn in Honour of Love*, (1. 190 ff.)

Such is the powre of that sweet passion,
That it all sordid basenesse doth expell,
And the refyned mynd doth newly fashion. . . .

Finally, there is the rhyme at the outset of Sonnet LI of the *Amoretti*.

Doe I not see that fayrest ymages
Of hardest marble are of purpose made,
For that they should endure through many ages. . . .

When we turn from these minor poems of Spenser to his *Faery Queen*, we find that, in proportion to bulk, such rhymes are rare: there are but four of them in all. Perhaps he felt that they were out of keeping with the dignity of the epical style; perhaps he felt that they marred the peculiar music of his great stanza. It is noteworthy that but one of the four is in the first three books, those which he worked upon most deliberately.

For els my feeble vessell, crazed and crackt
Through thy strong buffets and outrageous blowes,
Cannot endure, but needes it must be wrackt
On the rough rocks, or on the sandy shallowes,
The whiles that Love it steres, and Fortune rowes.
(III, iv, 9.)

In these books, in fact, Spenser will go to the point of violating the natural accent of a word in order to keep his rhyme true, as in I, vi, 26:

Wyld beastes in yron yokes he would compell;
The spotted panther and the tusked bore,
The pardale swift, and the tigre cruell.

Other examples are furnished by I, ii, 9; I, x, 37; II, v, 17, 28; III, iv, 53. In Books IV–VI, on the other hand, such forcing of accent is rarer, and what is of particular note, double endings, which are scarce in Books I–III, become exceedingly common. Under such a change in habits, it is perhaps not singular that imperfect rhymes of the masculine-feminine combination (one is tempted to call them epicene) should occur more often. The first is in IV, xii, 34:

Who soone as he beheld that angels face,
Adorn'd with all divine perfection,
His cheared heart eftsoones away gan chace
Sad death, revived with her sweet inspection,
And feeble spirit inly felt refection.

The others, which are of the same type, may be found in V, ii, 28 and V, v, 26.

The influence of Spenser in keeping an old practice like this alive would naturally be great, especially among the less vigorous spirits of his time. It may be suspected in the case of Thomas Watson. Watson's *Hekatompathia*, published three years after the *Shepherd's Calendar*, in 1582, is entirely independent of that poem and its style; the rhyme-words are mostly monosyllables, double rhymes are very rare, and there is no trace of the old laxity. It is one of the most regular and frigid poems of the age. By 1590, however, when he published a translation of his own Latin eclogue on the death of Walsingham, Watson had in some slight degree altered his style, and though the praise of Spenser in that poem has no particular

significance, there is one example of the laxity in rhyming that Spenser practised (Arber's Reprint, p. 165):

O heards and tender flocks, O handsmooth plains,
O Eccho dwelling both in mount and vallie,
O groves and bubling springs, O nimphs, O swains,
O young and old, O weepe all Arcadie.

Later still, in *The Tears of Fancy*, 1593, he altered his manner of rhyming fundamentally. Double rhymes become almost the rule, and laxities of various kinds are frequent enough to attract attention. One example may suffice here, from sonnet 46:

Envying that anie should injoy her image,
Since all unworthie were of such an honor,
Tho gan shee mee command to leave my gage,
The first end of my joy, last cause of dolor.

'Tho gan shee mee command' is definitely Spenserian—more so, it must be admitted, than Watson's habitual language. If that, however, is commonly his own, the rhymes may not unfairly be ascribed to the influence, direct or indirect, of Spenser. Other interesting examples may be found in sonnets 31 and 33.

Barnfield, a second minor poet of the day, known mainly by that sonnet on Dowland and Spenser formerly ascribed to Shakespeare ('If music and sweet poetry agree'), has left in another of his poems, *Cassandra*, a couple of rhymes of which one may be worth quoting, for the sake of completeness (ed. Arber, p. 73):

Which when Aurora saw, and saw 'twas shee,
 Even shee her selfe whose far-renowmed fame
 Made all the world to wonder at her beauty....

One more follower of Spenser must be brought into the reckoning, Edward Fairfax, translator of Tasso's great romance-epic. His debt to Spenser in the matter of language does not need to be re-stated, and he was obviously influenced by him in the matter of rhyme. It is not surprising, therefore, that in at least two cases he has given us rhymes of the kind we are following up. In I, 66:—

'Prepare you then for travaile strong and light,
 Fierce to the combat, glad to victorie.'
 And with that word and warning soone was dight
 Each soldier, longing for neere comming glorie.
 Impatient be they of the morning bright,
 Of honour so them prickt the memorie....

The same rhyme-words may be found in the same order in VIII, 15.

Next to Spenser in chronological order may be set Daniel and Drayton. With them we come suddenly to a change. Daniel begins, in his *Delia* and *Rosamond*, with more double rhymes than any Elizabethan hitherto has allowed himself, but they are all careful, if not exact, and one looks among them in vain for the old licence. In the various poems long and short that follow these, *The Civil Wars*, the addresses, etc., there is a complete and thorough-going reaction; double endings disappear almost totally, and with them, one would think, the probability of rhymes of the old order. Yet it is in one of these later poems that is to be found

the sole example of the species in all Daniel's work. It occurs in the *Funeral Poem on the Earl of Devonshire* (l. 193 ff.):

And he out of his native modesty
(As being no undertaker) labours too
To have avoided that which his ability
And England's genius would have him do.

One half suspects mere carelessness—one would suspect it if Daniel were a less scrupulous poet. In any case, despite this lapse, he has clearly broken with the old tradition.

Drayton is too voluminous a poet, and his poems appeared in too many successive forms, for exhaustive examination. The longest of them all, however, *Polyolbion*, being in alexandrine couplets, does not concern us, and the other volumes published by the Spenser Society give enough of his work in heroic verse for a reasonably sufficient survey. His method of rhyming differs from Daniel's: he makes use of double endings freely, but not profusely, all down the line; and his rhymes are probably more exact. No instance of rhyming on the light syllable of a double or a triple ending is to be found. He proceeds on his way, sometimes uncouth (when he aims at romantic beauty or tragic impressiveness), often tedious (when he assumes the role of historian), but always indefatigable and business-like—a good workman who is rewarded by occasional rare moments of inspiration. Elizabethan as he is, his verse reminds one at times not a little of the orderliness of a later age.

A third among the poets who succeeded Spenser is John Donne, the metrical character of whose verse is so notoriously eccentric that one might be disposed, before examining it, to expect almost any freaks of rhyming. Its main traits, in so far as they concern us, are well enough illustrated by the following couplet (*Satire*, IV, 101 f.):

He knows who loves; whom; and who by poyson
Hasts to an offices reversion.

Poysón for *Póison* is a good example of that 'not keeping of accent' for which Ben Jonson declared that Donne 'deserved hanging.' In this place it indicates also another of the traits of Donne's verse, his distaste for double endings: an overwhelming majority of his rhymes are masculine. When he ends a line with a word like *reversion*, it is almost invariably in the old measure, as here, *reversi-ón*. He is fond of putting a rhetorically unemphatic *me* or *thee* in the position of metrical stress at the rhyme, as in *Satire* I, 35 f:

As though all thy companions should make thee
Jointures, and marry thy deare company—

where Drayton would have rhymed double, *máke thee*. Even words like *spirit* appear in the rhyme as *spirít* (*Holy Sonnets* XVI). Despite these proclivities, Donne does occasionally rhyme according to the old license:

And jolly statesmen, which teach how to tie
The sinewes of a cities mistique bodie.

Satire I, 7 f.

Or let me creepe to some dread conjurer,
That with phantastique scheames fils full much paper.

Elegy XI, 59 f.

The hold and wast

With a salt dropsie clog'd, and all our tacklings
Snapping, like too-high-tuned treble strings.

The Storm, 1. 54-56.

Urg'd by this unexcusable occasion,
Thee and the saint of his affection
Leaving behinde . . .

To Mr. C. B. 1. 2 ff.

Such, rhymes, however, are all in his earlier verse, so much of which is deliberately extravagant; and there they are not inappropriate. In his mature and highly serious work they disappear altogether.

In the poets hitherto examined, rhymes of this peculiar combination, which links the one stressed syllable with the double or triple ending, have been scattered and few. Even in Spenser they are no more than occasional, rather rare deviations from the rules generally accepted. But now we come to a poet in whose verse they play an altogether more important part—George Chapman. In 1594 he began his literary career with a poem of less than a thousand lines, *The Shadow of Night*, which contains as many such rhymes as are to be found in the works of Spenser at large. In his volume of 1595, the chief poem of which is *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*, these rhymes, though not so frequent, are still very noticeable; and by 1598, in his continuation of Marlowe's exquisite *Hero and Leander* (which itself contains none at all), they have become again so prominent that one reads with a sense of wondering when the next will

turn up. Some of them are almost unbelievable—as those in the self-justification of Hero after Leander's departure (III, 357 ff.):

Hero Leander is, Leander Hero;
Such virtue love hath to make one of two.
If, then, Leander did my maidenhead git,
Leander being myself, I still retain it—

in which the conceit and the rhymes seem to be contending for the palm of grotesqueness. Perhaps, indeed, it might almost have been expected that the poet of that day whose original work is the most turbidly fantastic and the least regulated by critical common sense should be the one to stretch an incidental license of rhyming into a settled and vicious habit. An inventory of these volumes will be worth while: to quote examples at length would not.

1594. *The Shadow of Night: Hymnus in Noctem*. heart: désart (57)—strings: dóings (195)—wings: lódgings (215)—bands: gárlands (245)—mace: pálace (386)—incantati-óns: pássions (392). *Hymnus in Cynthiam*. face: pálace (9)—away: hárpey (21)—fúry: augurý (74)—hands: gárlands (90)—fire: émpire (128)—happinèss: místress (255)—glóries: sacrificé (273)—beasts: fórests (295)—slaughtersóme: kíngdom (382)—treasúres: pleásures (404)—stand: gárland (454)—dead: góðhead (475)—Endýmion: alóne (483)—strong: fúrlong (511).

1595. *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*. accéss: góddess (57)—Niobé: Phóebe (91)—embráce: pálace (408)—Elysíum: kíngdom (514)—then: wómen (559)—sues: vírtues (830)—feéling: kíng (932)—lie: hóney (983). *A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy*. ráges: imágés (VI)—pen: wómen (IX). *The Amorous Zodiac*. Vénus: bounteóús (IX)—hear: wáter (XXIX).

1598. *Hero and Leander*. stóry: memory (III, 191)—Cúpid: chíd (III, 211)—Héro: two; git: retáin it (III, 357)—were: Leándér (III, 401)—ónly: eye (IV, 31)—Leándér:

sphere (IV, 45)—bódy: implý (IV, 81)—sing: leáding (IV, 99)—glóry: historý; Abýdos: propiti-óús (IV, 127)—náture: cure (IV, 137)—líly: spy (V, 215)—válour: allúre (V, 247)—Shamefastnéss: góddess (V, 375)—pursúe: vírtue (VI, 88) Leánder: her (VI, 260).

Such a debauch of licentious rhyming could hardly be persisted in, even by a man of Chapman's constitution. After 1598 we notice a change. There comes an interval during which he worked almost exclusively in the drama and on his translation of the *Iliad*, and when he next publishes an original poem of any bulk, *The Tears of Peace*, in 1609, its 1200 lines contain but two examples of the old vice, one of these doubtful. The *Epiciedium* of 1612 (about 700 lines) contains one; *Andromeda Liberata*, of 1614, (about 500 lines) contains none at all; *Eugenia*, of 1614, (about 1000 lines) contains one. A few are scattered among the shorter poems, many of which, however, are altogether without them. A list is given here only for the sake of completeness.

Tears of Peace. glóry: memorý (*Inductio*)—circu-ít: spírit. *Hymn to Christ upon the Cross.* spring: méaning—more: ódour. *A Sleight Man.* can: wóman—evermóre: imitátor. *Fragment of Tears of Peace.* errs: mísers. *Of Constancy in Goodness.* own: cómmon. *Epiciedium.* are: féver. *Sonnet to Countess of Bedford.* vúlgar: rare. *Eugenia.* relati-ón: fáshion.

To go through all Chapman's translated verse in quest of this license would hardly repay the labor. Apparently, as was natural, he there held himself to stricter standards. His *Iliad*, being written in 'fourteeners', does not concern us; but

in the first book of his *Odyssey* (1614) there are no examples of it, nor are there any in his version of Musaeus (1616). In the first of his *Georgics of Hesiod* (1618) there is one: offénces: sênses: sentencés. Double endings, though not rare, are not at all common; they are proportionately much more numerous in his original verse.

The year 1598, which marks the crisis in Chapman's habits of rhyming, saw the publication of Marston's *Satires*. These outbursts of a swash-buckler muse, as one might expect, are full of the same license. They are emphatic, voluble, loose, and in the matter of rhyme rather disdainfully indifferent.

His ruffe did eate more time in neatest setting
Then Woodstocks worke in painfull perfecting (III)

is characteristic enough and by no means the worst rhyme of the volume. The satires of Marston's antagonist, Bishop Hall, on the other hand, are in this matter very strict. The rhymes are almost without exception masculine, and frequently when the verse leads Hall up to the very brink of a double ending, he avoids the pitfall by a forcing of accent, as in Book III, Satire I:

As for the thrice three-angled beech-nut shell,
Or chestnut's armed husk and hid kernell....

where either Chapman or Marston would have preferred the natural accent and a mixed rhyme. There are no such rhymes in all the six books of Hall's *Satires*.

With Hall this study may be concluded, for he points forward to the time when the mode of rhyming that we have had under consideration was to become definitely impossible. How long it lingered as an outworn fashion among belated poets of the older schools could doubtless be discovered, but by 1600 it was already evidently on the wane, and to follow it painstakingly through its final stage seems hardly worth while. In the very year in which Jonson wrote his *Execration upon Vulcan*, which contains one of the latest examples of it, Edmund Waller composed his first characteristic verses, *Of the Danger his Majesty Escaped in the Road at Saint Andrews*, and with Waller in the field, not to speak of Carew and Herrick, and with Milton just coming in, it is clearly time to stop. In the course of the preceding survey many poets of varying degrees of merit and demerit have had to be omitted simply because the survey could not be all-inclusive. The danger of too hurried a conclusion is slight. The main course of the fashion from beginning to end seems to be sufficiently clear.

SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS AND PLAYS

ARTHUR BEATTY

I

Recent criticism of the Sonnets of Shakespeare has resulted in a stalemate. The identity of "Mr. W. H.," of the "rival poet," and of the "dark lady," has been examined and re-examined in each case; and today the testimony in support of the various claimants is so nicely balanced that the advantage seems to lie with none. The fundamental position of critics like Tyler, Dowden, Wyndham, and Beeching has been attacked by Sidney Lee, in his well-known life of Shakespeare and elsewhere,¹ on the ground that the Sonnets do not contain real, personal feeling, but are a series of literary exercises written in imitation of French sonneteers and in the general tradition of the English literary convention. This attack on the more old-fashioned critics has been carried forward by R. M. Alden², who argues that the sonnets fail to show any development or internal arrangement that will justify

¹ His final statement is found in the new edition of the *Life of Shakespeare*, 1916.

² "The Quarto Arrangements of Shakespeare's Sonnets," in *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*, 1913. A fuller presentation of the matter is made in the *Tudor* edition of the Sonnets, 1913.

anyone in attaching any authority to the first edition of 1609. Thus we have all been "put to ignorance again" with reference to the fundamental problems of the Sonnets; and, that being the case, it may be worth while to put the old, familiar aspects out of our field of sight, to make a detour, and approach it by a new pathway.¹

In this paper no attempt will be made to sum up the history of the development of the criticism of the Sonnets, nor will anything be said regarding "Mr. W. H.," the "dark lady," or the "rival poet." Neither will anything be said regarding the question as to whether there is a definite story in the Sonnets, nor as to whether they are merely, "literary exercises" or not, except indirectly. However, lest silence should be interpreted as acceptance of the destructive criticism of Lee and Alden, it may be said that the skeptical methods of these critics would work havoc with Tennyson's *In Memoriam* and Rossetti's *House of Life*, both as regards content and authorship. What is attempted is simply this: to examine the dramas of Shakespeare for passages which give evidence of the sonnet habit, by the method and structure which they exhibit; to tabulate these; to consider them in relation to chronology, subject-matter, and character; and on this evidence to arrive at certain conclusions regarding the problem of the Sonnets as a whole.

¹ For a summary statement of the present status of these questions, see Henry David Gray, "The Arrangement and the Date of Shakespeare's Sonnets," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXX, 629-644.

In this examination the sonnet as written by Shakespeare has been defined as essentially a lyric poem, a wave of lyric feeling. This makes it closely akin to lyric song; and it was not at all unnatural that the Elizabethans did not clearly distinguish between the two forms. But, while the sonnet is lyric, it is the lyric weighted by contemplative, reflective thought. If it deals with passion or emotion it deals with emotion or passion "recollected in tranquillity," in a measure. It expresses reflections on love, friendship, or beauty, rather than love, friendship, and beauty themselves.

Again, the sonnet is not descriptive, narrative, nor representative of action. Indeed, it is not unfair to say that the sonnet, which implies brooding, or intense, thought attempting to interpret and comprehend the obscurity of feeling and the primary passions, is directly contradictory of the external world of character, situation, and action.

Further, the sonnet is a thought expressed, not in connection with what may precede or follow, but as a thing which is self-sufficient. The thought is stated, developed, and restated by means of a return upon itself in the form of summary or application.

This habit of the sonnet to round out and complete the thought within the bounds of that thought is organically expressed in the technical form which Shakespeare used. The Shakespearean sonnet form consists of three quatrains and a concluding couplet, and this indicates the usual method by which the content is presented. The thought is

usually given in three stages, and is completed by the summary or conclusion in the final couplet. In sonnet xxx, for example, the first quatrain is introduced by "when," the second by "then," the third by "then," and the couplet by "but," expressive of an idea epigrammatically contradictory of the matter of the quatrains. Of similar structure are sonnets xii, xvi, and lxiv, except that the couplet confirms the thought of the quatrains. Similarly, sonnet lxxiii shows the same structure very clearly; the quatrains deal respectively with the poet's age under the imagery of autumn, sunset, and the dying fire, and the couplet adds the contrasting thought that the love of the friend ought to be all the stronger for that which he must leave ere long. Sonnet lxvii consists of three questions, with the answer in the couplet. This is the normal type of Shakespearean sonnet; and may be designated as type one.

A second type presents the thought in two parts, the turn usually coming after the eighth line. Examples are xviii, xxxiii, lxxiv, civ, and cvi. In some cases the turn of thought comes in the fifth line, as in lxxi, xcvi, and xcvi.

A third type is looser than the preceding types, its structure being a series of statements or questions. Examples are lxvi, cxxx, and xli.

In the parallel passages from the dramas which are listed below, the general lyric attitude and forms of thought-structure are rather completely embodied. The passages are chosen solely for their similarity to the sonnet, and not at all for

their poetic worth. For this reason, many of the famous passages of Shakespeare's plays are not found in the list, though, of course, many of them are. To make the point clearer, we shall give examples of passages that are not at all sonnet-like in structure. *Twelfth Night*, I, i, 1-15 is a good instance:

If music be the food of love, play on!
Give me excess of it, that, sufeiting,
The appetite may sicken, and so die.
That strain again! It had a dying fall.
O, it came o'er my ear like the sweet sound
That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing and giving odour. Enough! no more!
'Tis not so sweet now as it was before.
O spirit of love, how quick and fresh art thou,
That, notwithstanding thy capacity
Receiveth as the sea, nought enters there,
Of what validity and pitch so'er
But falls into abatement and low price
Even in a minute! So full of shapes is fancy
That it alone is high fantastical.

Here music is spoken of as the food of love, and that statement leads on to the spirit of love. But there is no return to the beginning in the way of connecting the two thoughts, as in a sonnet. In method sonnet vi is a contrast.

Another example further illustrates the sort of finely poetical passage that is not found in our list. In *The Tempest*, Prospero, in one of the most famous passages in all Shakespeare, speaks as follows, IV, i, 148-158:

Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air;

And like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.

Here is a noble thought nobly expressed, but it has nothing of the sonnet about it in its lack of close connection between the "cloud-capp'd towers" and "our little life." Sonnet xv shows how a similar idea is dealt with in a real sonnet.

The following list of sonnet-like passages in the dramas is presented in the full consciousness of the necessary imperfections of such a list based on tests such as have been indicated. The examples are to be treated as typical rather than as members of a statistical group. The list is reduced to its present proportions by a rigid exclusion of any case that seemed doubtful. By a very slight relaxation of the tests it would have been easy to have increased the list very considerably in the case of the earlier plays and the great tragedies. When plays are not mentioned it is to be understood that no clear cases of sonnet-like passages have been noted in them. The dates assigned to the plays are those most usually accepted.

II.

LIST OF PASSAGES NOTED

ROMEO AND JULIET, 1591–1595.

I, Prologue. A Shakespearean sonnet.

I, i, 175–178; 182–187; 196–200. This gives a sonnet of the third type. It is interrupted, of course, by the dramatic dialogue.

I, i, 95–108. A Shakespearean sonnet.

II, Prologue. A Shakespearean sonnet.

III, ii, 1–31. This speech of Juliet's falls into two parts, 1–16 and 17–31, each of which is sonnet-like in thought structure.

Number of passages, 6, of which 3 are regular sonnets.

THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA, 1592.

II, iv, 199–214. Proteus, the most persistent sonneteer of all Shakespeare's characters, speaks of his "two loves" in a succession of sonnet-like contrasts. He describes the method of making "wailful sonnets" in *III, ii, 73–81*.

II, vi, 1–30. Two sonnet-like pieces, the first, lines 1–16, dealing generally with Proteus' opposed loves, and the second, 17–30, dealing with them in a specific way.

II, vii, 15–20; 24–38. Julia describes her love for Proteus.

III, i, 140–149. An imperfect sonnet, consisting of two quatrains and a couplet.

III, i, 170–187. Valentine meditates banishment from love, in the true style of sonnet contrasts.

III, i, 241–256. This begins like sonnet xxxv, and proceeds like a sonnet for ten lines, when it becomes dramatic narrative.

IV, ii, 1–15. Proteus again considers his "two loves" "of comfort and despair."

Number of passages, 8, of which 1 is an imperfect Shakespearean sonnet.

LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST. 1589–1594.

I classify this play with the early group. It seems probable that the revision of 1594 does not

affect our instances, with the possible exception of the last.

I, i, 74-79. Last quatrain and couplet of a sonnet. There are several others in the play, which I shall not notice, as they are scarcely germane to our problem.

I. i. 80-93. Berowne's sonnet.

I, i, 163-177. A regular sonnet with an extra line.

IV, ii, 108-121. Berowne's sonnet in hexameters, addressed to Rosaline.

IV, iii, 25-41. The King's sonnet.

IV, iii, 60-74. Longaville's sonnet to Maria. First printed in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599.

IV., iii, 247-265. This dialogue in sonnet form, discusses the theme of "black" and "fair." Compare sonnet cvii.

Number of passages 6, of which 5 are sonnets or related to the sonnet form.

RICHARD II. 1594.

II, i, 1-16. Gaunt and York discuss death, under the general concept of the power in the tongues of dying men. The succeeding long speech of Gaunt, has glorious hints of the sonnet, but it is too continuously progressive to conform to the sonnet structure.

V, i, 201-221. Richard's speech resembles the successive details of sonnets lxvi and cxxix.

Number of passages, 2.

A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM. 1594.

I, i, 132-149. The lines assigned to Lysander follow the method of sonnets lxiv and cxxix.

Number of passages, 1.

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE. 1596.

I, i, 184-197. Portia speaks of mercy, first in its general aspects, then in its might and consequent fitness for kings, then in its superiority to kings, and lastly the identity between power and mercy. This is the real sonnet method.

Number of passages, 1.

1 HENRY IV. 1597.

I, ii, 218-238. The Prince speaks of himself as the sun, "smothered up" by the base, contagious clouds, with an application. Compare sonnet xxxiii.

Number of passages, 1.

2 HENRY IV. 1598.

III, i, 9-21. The King addresses sleep, speaking successively of its visits to "smoky cribs," to "the vile," and to the "ship-boy" on "the high and giddy mast," and finally deploring the fact that it will not visit the eyes of a king.

III, i, 45-56. A sonnet-like reflection on the book of fate.

Compare sonnet lxiv.

Number of passages, 2.

HENRY V. 1599.

II, ii, 126-142. The method of question and answer, similar to that of sonnet lxxvi.

V, Epilogue. A regular sonnet.

Number of passages, 2, of which 1 is a sonnet.

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL. 1600-1.

III, iv, 4-16. Helena's letter in the regular sonnet form.

Number of passages, 1 regular sonnet.

HAMLET. 1602.

II, ii, 306-321. This famous prose speech of Hamlet regarding the miracle of the universe and man falls into representative sonnet form: he has lost all mirth, and the world is a congregation of vapours; man indeed is fair; but he delights him not.

III, i, 71-88. This passage from the famous soliloquy on suicide is conducted by a series of questions after the manner of sonnets lxi and lxvii. The subject-matter is that of sonnet xxix. In this case the soliloquy departs from the dramatic situation, as Hamlet is not "in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes." In this case, as in some others the sonneteer has conquered the dramatist.

III, i, 158-169. Ophelia expresses herself in cumulative sonnet form, with a closing couplet.

III, ii, 61-79. This declaration of Hamlet's friendship for Horatio falls into the sonnet form: I do not flatter; I choose you for your worth; Men like you are blessed; so I will ever wear you in my heart of hearts.

Number of passages, 4.

OTHELLO. 1604.

I, iii, 322-337. A prose sonnet on virtue, love, lust, will, and reason.

III, iii, 263-277. "The woe that is in marriage."

III, iii, 347-357. Othello bids farewell to the good things of life.

V, ii, 340-351. A sonnet-like defence by Othello. He begs the senators to speak of him as he is; as one who loved not wisely but too well; as one perplexed, who threw a pearl away; and as one who now weeps, albeit unused to the melting mood.

Number of passages, 4.

MACBETH. 1606.

III, ii, 40-55. A brief sonnet-like address to the night, with a moral application.

V, v, 19-28. An unfinished, or fragmentary, sonnet, like a goodly number of other great poetic speeches by Macbeth; it makes the impression that the speaker would give us a fully developed sonnet if the dreadful press of circumstances would afford him time and opportunity. He has left his tale only "half told."

Number of passages, 2.

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. 1607.

I, ii, 308-319. Cressida considers the perplexities of love from various sides, and closes with a couplet.

III, ii, 125-141. Cressida's confession of love: she dissembled by silence, but she was won by Troilus' first glance; she loves; women lose by speaking of love; therefore she must be silent.

III, ii, 165-177. Troilus' answer to Cressida.

III, ii, 178-190. Troilus declares himself to be a pattern of constancy in love.

III, ii, 190-203. The counterpart of the preceding passage. Cressida says that if she is false she wishes her name to stand for falsehood.

Number of passages, 5.

CORIOLANUS. 1608.

IV, iv, 12-26. Coriolanus meditates on the fickleness of love and hate and their interchanges.

Number of passages, 1.

THE WINTER'S TALE. 1610-11.

IV, iv, 112-128. Perdita wishes for various groups of flowers to crown her love, but these she lacks.

Number of passages, 1.

III.

In this list are noted 47 examples in all, 11 of which are sonnets of the Shakespearean type and do not therefore directly concern us. This gives us 36 passages in blank verse and prose which show the sonnet structure in the way in which the thought is presented.

In the first place, it may be pointed out that the list indicates three distinct periods of sonnet activity on the part of Shakespeare: the first, including the years 1589-1596, and represented by 11 examples, exclusive of the 12 regular sonnets; the second, the period of the great tragedies, 1602-1607, and represented by 15 passages. A third intermediate period, 1596-1599, the period of *King Henry IV* and *V*, represented by 6 examples, is

marked with tolerable clearness. Thus we have objective proof for those who argue for an early period and for the Earl of Southampton as "Mr. W. H."; and for those who argue that Shakespeare must have written the Sonnets when the fashion of sonneteering was rife, because the fashion was in full sway during the years 1589-1596, after which it very rapidly declined. On the other hand, the figures give aid and comfort to those who argue for a late date, as we have a large proportion of the passages from plays of 1602-1607. The list as a whole gives confirmation to those who believe that the Sonnets were written during a considerable number of years, the passages of the first period agreeing in general with the "sugred" and "mellifluous" sonnets mentioned by Meres in 1598, and also with the tone of *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*; and those of the last period agreeing in subject and serious tone with the greater and more highly poetical sonnets of supposed later date.

Again, the results show that the sonnet habit is connected by Shakespeare with certain characters. Proteus, in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, represents the light and tuneful quality of the earlier sonnets, while Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth, and Troilus, the poets among Shakespeare's characters, represent the mature lyric thought of the great tragedies and sonnets. Moreover, the examples show that the plays most closely connected with the sonnets by subject matter and correspondences of word, phrase, and general style are

also most closely related with them through this sonnet habit. *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Henry IV*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth* have been closely related to the sonnets by many editors; and this connection is justified by our list.

Finally, the list does not at all confirm those who take the position that there is a close correspondence of subject between the dramas and the sonnets. Indeed, it tends to show the contrary. It does show that the sonnet habit was a constant in Shakespeare's mind at least from 1591 to 1609, which led him to pour out his marvelous wealth of contemplation on life and its joys and sorrows, whenever fashion, incident, scene, situation, or character, moved him to meditative lyric utterance.

With the year 1609, the date of the publication of Thomas Thorpe's famous quarto, this sonnet habit almost absolutely ceased; and the "setting forth" of the book by its "onlie begetter," whether authorized or not, is only the falling of the ripened fruit of the poet's glorious prime and summer. In the belated second harvest of the St. Martin's summer of the romances there is "many a precious phrase, by all the Muses filed"; but few are the outcome of the mood of the meditative contemplation from which the sonnet issues. The result is that, so far as we can rely on the printed sources at our disposal, we know the poet wrote no more sonnets; and our list shows only a solitary sonnet-like passage in the plays of the later period.

Thus the conclusion is that there is a constant relation between the sonnet and the poet's other

work. In the first three periods we noted a kinship between both, while in the fourth period we find no sonnets and scarcely one sonnet-like passage. This parallelism, extending over the period from 1591 to 1609, can scarcely be an accidental one, but must be the outgrowth of deeply-rooted habits of thought in the poet's mental and moral being.

GARRICK'S VAGARY

BY LILY B. CAMPBELL

Since the eighteenth century there has existed a tradition to the effect that it was David Garrick who re-discovered Shakespeare to the stage and who established him forever as "the Drama's God." Certain it is that during the eighteenth century Shakespeare came to be recognized as the solid foundation for the lasting fame of the English stage; and that this recognition came about in spite of the attacks of the orthodox among the critics, in spite of the defense made by the apologists, in spite of the reformation introduced in his plays by practical-minded Aristotelians, and even in spite of the limitations of the stage art of the time. It is, therefore, of interest to trace the growth of this persistent Garrick-Shakespeare tradition which is characteristically expressed in the epitaph engraved on Garrick's tomb in Westminster Abbey,

Shakespeare and Garrick like twin stars shall shine,
And earth irradiate with a beam divine.

Garrick made his first appearance on the London stage on October 19, 1741, in *Richard III*. But the revival of Shakespeare was even then begun. Rowe, Pope, and Theobald had already published

editions of Shakespeare's works during the century. A subscription under the patronage of Lord Halifax had in Colley Cibber's time been raised for the presentation of Shakespeare's plays.¹ And in 1735 or thereabouts, "a number of ladies of the first distinction entered into a subscription for exhibiting the plays of Shakespeare weekly, in order to recover the drooping spirit of the Drama."² The Shakespeare monument in Westminster Abbey was likewise erected by public subscription in 1741, some sort of benefit for the purpose having apparently taken place in London in 1738, at which benefit various poetical attempts at honoring Shakespeare had been made.³ Furthermore Quin as Falstaff and Macklin as Shylock were already established as theatrical favorites.

Certainly in 1741, then, the winds of public favor seemed to be blowing Shakespeare-ward. And Garrick at the outset of his career decided to throw in his fortunes with those of Shakespeare. So successful was he that soon he seemed to be the creator rather than the follower of the popular taste for Shakespeare. And when in 1747, on assuming the managership of Drury Lane Theatre, he spoke a prologue written for the occasion by Doctor Johnson and affirming the indisputable supremacy of Shakespeare while it retailed the sorrows and vices

¹ Cibber, Colley, *An Apology for the life of: Written by himself.* 1822 ed. pp. 311, 312.

² Davies, T., *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Esq.* 1780. Vol. II, p. 219, note. Also Vol. I, p. 20. Also Cooke, W., *Memoirs of Samuel Foote, Esq.* 1805. p. 33.

³ *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick.* Ed. Boaden. Vol. I, p. 349

of the stage since it had followed after new gods¹, he seemed to be indeed the herald of a new stage faith.

From this time Garrick carried a public cudgel in Shakespeare's behalf. He refused to have aught to do with one who spoke ill of Shakespeare. He and his intimate friends formed themselves into a Shakespeare Club, the business of which was "drinking toasts to the immortal remembrance of the great dramatic writer, and refreshing their minds with the recital of his various excellences," according to Garrick's biographer, Thomas Davies.²

Constantly, too, Garrick produced Shakespearean plays on the Drury Lane stage, played Shakespearean parts, and—reformed Shakespeare's plays. Davies states that under the rule of Booth, Wilks, and Cibber only eight or nine of Shakespeare's plays were produced on the London stage, while Garrick produced annually seventeen or eighteen.³ Garrick himself had acted eighteen Shakespearean characters before his retirement from the stage.⁴ And that his efforts to popularize Shakespeare were untiring is evidenced by his producing *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as operas,⁵ a farce of *Katherine and*

¹ Quoted in Davies, 1.c., Vol. I, p. 108–110.

² Davies, 1.c., Vol. II, p. 17.

³ Davies, 1.c., Vol. I, p. 113.

⁴ Gaehde, Ch., David Garrick als Shakespeare-Darsteller. 1904. Opposite p. 198.

⁵ Knight, J., David Garrick. 1894. pp. 153, 154. And Murphy, A., Life of David Garrick, Esq. 1801. Vol. I, p. 269.

Petruchio,¹ a *Hamlet* without the grave-diggers,² a happily ending *Romeo and Juliet*,³ and similar sugared offerings. In all things he professed his loyalty to Shakespeare, a loyalty best expressed in his own words in a prologue of 1756 to *Florizel and Perdita*, which he had adapted from *The Winter's Tale* by striking out most of the first three acts and centering the action in a short space of time:

Tis my chief wish, my joy, my only plan,
To lose no drop of that immortal man.⁴

Thus Garrick and Shakespeare gradually came to be identified in the public mind. By the artists of the time Garrick was painted leaning against a pedestal on which rested the bust of Shakespeare, reading one of Shakespeare's plays, or interpreting one of Shakespeare's characters. By the poets his preferment by Shakespeare was sung in endless variation, most noteworthily, however, by Churchill in his *Rosciad* and by Goldsmith in his *Retaliation*.

The question naturally arises, then, why Garrick did not in some fashion celebrate in 1764 the anniversary of Shakespeare's birth. The answer is probably found in Garrick's absence on the Continent from 1763 till 1765, an absence consequent to a decline in his popularity which had marked the years 1762 and 1763. In 1769, however, an

¹ Davies, 1.c., Vol. I, p. 275. Also Baker, *The Companion to the Playhouse*, 1764.

² Davies, T., *Dramatic Miscellanies*, 1784. Vol. III, pp. 145-147. Also Murphy, 1.c., pp. 82-84. Also Knight, 1.c., p. 259.

³ Baker, 1.c., under *Garrick*.

⁴ Murphy, 1.c., Vol. I, p. 285. Also Knight, 1.c., pp. 150, 151.

opportunity for offering fit tribute to the poet presented itself, and in that year was celebrated the Stratford Jubilee. But the manner of the origin of the Jubilee was curious.

In 1752 or 1753,¹ New Place had come into the possession of the Reverend Francis Gastrell. In the garden of New Place grew a mulberry tree, which tradition said had been planted by Shakespeare's own hand. Some time about 1758, the new owner, seeking sunlight for his house, with impious hands cut down the tree. The inhabitants of Stratford were indignant at the outrage. The Reverend Mr. Gastrell became a moral outcast in the community and finally sought refuge elsewhere, while the villagers vowed that nevermore should one by the name of Gastrell be allowed to live within the hallowed precincts of the borough. One thrifty burger, however, bought up the tree and from its wood created the Shakespeare remembrancers which, like those of other sacred shrines, increased in number with the years. The borough of Stratford bought several pieces of the wood, and Garrick himself made similar purchase.²

On October 11, 1768, in recognition of his services to Shakespeare, David Garrick was elected an honorary burgess of the Corporation of Stratford,³

¹ These dates are taken from Lee, Sidney, *A Life of William Shakespeare*. 1899. p. 194, note, and p. 283. Here they are accepted on the authority of Halliwell-Phillips, *History of New Place*, 1864. An interesting account is given of the affair in the *Dramatic Table Talk*, 1825-1830, Vol. III, pp. 288, 289, where the dates are given as 1753 and 1756. Another account is found in the *Dramatic Mirror*, 1808, pp. 113-116, where the dates are not mentioned.

² *Gar. Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 145.

³ "A copy of the Freedom of a Burgess given to David Garrick" in the *Gar. Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 323.

and it was directed that the freedom of the city be presented to him in a box made from the wood of the famous mulberry tree. The actual transmission of this document seems not to have been made until May 3, 1769.¹ And Garrick's acceptance of the honor is dated May 8. Meanwhile he had been requested to place in the new Town Hall at Stratford some "statue, bust, or picture," of Shakespeare and some likeness of himself in order that the memory of both actor and dramatist might be perpetuated in the town sacred to Shakespeare.² This invitation, too, Garrick accepted.

Such new honors demanded more than passive acceptance, however, and Garrick was impelled to the creation of a gigantic Jubilee which should fitly celebrate the poet. Accordingly he included in his epilogue at the last night's performance at Drury Lane an invitation to the public to meet him during the summer at Stratford at Shakespeare's Jubilee.

The news of the proposed celebration spread, and proffers of assistance from those who had made their poetical or histrionic offerings on Shakespeare's shrine came to Garrick from afar. An actor by the name of Ward sent him a pair of gloves which were attested to have been worn by Shakespeare.³ He was honored in various ways as the representative of Shakespeare. And a critic for whom he had great respect wrote to

¹ Gar. Cor., Vol. I. p. 345.

² Gar. Cor., Vol. I, p. 322.

³ Gar. Cor., Vol. I, pp. 352, 353.

him suggesting the erection at Stratford of a great temple to Fame, and suggesting further that "an awful majesty should grace the building, and therein should be seen the statues of Shakespeare and Garrick, Fame spreading her wide wings over their heads with a majestic laurel crown in her hand, uncertain to which of them both it might be just to bestow it."¹

During the summer Garrick completed in detail the plans for the Jubilee. An enthusiastic landowner of Stratford had more than a hundred old trees cut down to admit the erection of a building planned by Garrick much in the fashion suggested by the critic, but unselfishly named Shakespeare Hall. The properties of Drury Lane Theatre were ordered sent down to Stratford for the celebration, as were also the lights of the theatre.

In August Garrick himself went down to make the final arrangements. He found the lumber for Shakespeare Hall not yet arrived, the Drury Lane lights broken. Yet in three weeks' time the arrangements were complete for the arrival of the Stratford pilgrims. Shakespeare Hall, a great rotunda supported by a colonnade of the Corinthian order, had been erected. A bookseller had been appointed. One Putney's Inn had been chosen as headquarters, and an attempt had been made to insure reasonable rates for satisfactory accommodations.

These proceedings did not meet with the universal sympathy of the inhabitants of Stratford,

¹ Gar. Cor., Vol. I, p. 360.

however. The more aristocratic among them, including the mayor and aldermen, were ready for eager participation in the events of the Jubilee. Those who had accommodations to offer prepared to extort a guinea a night for a bed, however humble its pretensions to comfort. The more lowly villagers were in general merely curious, for the word *Jubilee* was the cause of much speculation among them. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of the month records a story expressive of the general bewilderment of the natives: "A Banbury man, indeed, employed to carry thither a double bass viol, (on which he was unable to play, but doubted not *they* would shew him when he got *there*) told them it was to be a celebration of Shakespeare's resurrection." Probably to Garrick as well as to the natives this explanation would have seemed possible of justification.

Eager or suspicious as they might be, the inhabitants of Stratford were, nevertheless, bound to witness the Shakespeare Jubilee.¹ And on September 5, the throng of pilgrims arrived, among them Boswell, the biographer of Johnson, wearing his Corsican costume, and Foote, the actor. Each of the visitors was presented with a ribbon stamped in rainbow hues in token of Shakespeare as Doctor Johnson had described him in the famous prologue of 1747, "Each change of many-colored light he drew."

¹ This account of the Jubilee is based on the accounts given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Universal Magazine*, and the *London Magazine* for September, 1769. The accounts previously referred to in the *Dramatic Mirror* and *Dramatic Table Talk* have also been consulted, together with the account of Knight, also based upon these records.

On the morning of Wednesday, September 6, the Jubilee opened at six o'clock with the "triple discharge of seventeen pieces of cannon and twelve small mortars placed on the banks of the Avon." Garrick's and Lord Spencer's apartments were then serenaded by some of the Drury Lane actors who had got themselves up to look like rustics—not forgetting the realism of dirt. Afterward these actors went through the streets chanting ballads and accompanying them with "guitars and German flutes."

The town was in gala attire. The windows of the Town Hall were covered with transparent silk on which were paintings representing the great Shakespearean characters. Shakespeare's birthplace attracted attention by being hidden under a great transparency of similar sort which represented the sun struggling through the clouds to illumine the world. The church had escaped like treatment, but the bust of Shakespeare in the church was so loaded with bays that it resembled a statue of Pan peeping through the trees, according to one commentator.

At eight o'clock on this eventful day Garrick went forth amid these glories of his own creation. He hastened to the Town Hall, where a public breakfast was to be served. But at the Town Hall he was met by the mayor and aldermen of Stratford, who presented to him with many speeches a medallion made from the wood of the sacred mulberry tree, engraved with the likeness of Shakespeare, and set richly in gold. This tribute Garrick

accepted with an appropriate speech. Indeed his correspondence seems to prove that the medal had been made according to his own directions and was, therefore, not altogether an unexpected gift.¹ Seemingly he went through the events of the Jubilee days with the mulberry-tree medallion about his neck, with a mulberry-tree wand in his hand, and with his hands encased in the Shakespeare gloves of doubtful authenticity.

At nine o'clock breakfast was served here in the new Town Hall, the windows hung with transparencies, one end of the room decorated with a picture of Shakespeare, the other with Gainsborough's picture of Garrick.² At eleven all repaired to the church, where the oratorio of *Judith* was given—just why *Judith* no one seems to know.³ At three there was dinner in Shakespeare Hall, and afterwards there were toasts to Garrick and Shakespeare. Then the orchestra took up catches and glees, while the whole company joined in the choruses. And last there came a loyal, enthusiastic singing of *God save the King*. From nine till three

¹ A letter from T. Davies, July 30, 1769, to Garrick preserved in the Gar. Cor., Vol. I, p. 350, would seem to indicate that the medal was at that time being made in Birmingham according to Garrick's own directions.

² Gower, Lord Ronald Sutherland, F. R. A., Thomas Gainsborough, 1903, pp. 46, 47, gives an account of this portrait of Garrick which is supposed to have been painted in 1765 or 1766 and which according to tradition was presented by Garrick to the Town Hall at Stratford. "However there exists a bill in the Stratford Municipal Archives kept at the Town Hall, stating that £63 had been paid to Mr. Gainsborough for Mr. Garrick's picture. It is thought possible that this sum was paid for the magnificently carved gilt frame of the picture, which certainly is sufficiently elaborate to have cost that amount."

³ It would certainly have been in character for Garrick to have chosen the oratorio because of the fact that Shakespeare's younger daughter bore the name Judith.

a wonderful ball took place, a ball which lived in the memory of the participants because of the marvelous minuet in which Mrs. Garrick danced, for Mrs. Garrick had before her marriage been the famous dancer of her day, Mlle. Violette. And thus the first day of the Jubilee came to its brilliant close.

On Thursday morning the elements came to the support of the murmurers against this sacrilegious Jubilee, for a drenching rain seemed to express the wrath of heaven. In spite of the rain the pilgrims went to breakfast in the Town Hall, however, and though the great procession had to be abandoned, they gathered at noon in the church to hear Garrick's ode to Shakespeare. The ode had been set to music by Dr. Arne and was sung in airs, choruses, and duets, the parts usually indicated as to be pronounced in recitative being spoken instead by Garrick. Those who heard the ode pronounced it excellent, but those who read it later seem to have qualified their praise with reserve and their condemnation with politeness. The first stanza gives probably a just idea of the ode.

To what blest genius of the isle,
Shall gratitude her tribute pay,
Decree the festive day,
Erect the statue, and devote the pile?

Do not your sympathetic hearts accord,
To own the 'bosom's Lord'?
'Tis he! 'Tis he!—that demi-god!
Who Avon's flow'ry margin trod;
While sportive fancy round him flew,
Where nature led him by the hand,

Instructed him in all she knew,
And gave him absolute command!
'Tis he!—'tis he!
'The god of our idolatry'

After the performance of the ode there was dinner, and dinner was followed again by songs, *The Warwickshire Lad* being the most persistent of these songs. After dinner there were to be fireworks, and fireworks there were—but damp fireworks. For the rain persisted. At twelve there was a grand masquerade.

Friday morning the last and greatest day of the Jubilee was ushered in by more rain. The great pageant of Shakespeare's characters had to be abandoned. A horse race was run according to schedule, but it was run with the horses knee-deep in water. And the evening found escaping all those who could escape from the prices and hardships of Stratford hospitality.

Thus in rain and discomfort the Jubilee ended. Nevertheless it furnished the favorite topic of the time. Accounts of it filled the current magazines. Accounts of plays, farces, and collections of songs under the titles of *Shakespeare's Jubilee*, *The Stratford Jubilee*, *Shakespeare's Garland*, *Garrick's Vagary*, and similar captions, occupied much of the space given to book notices in these same magazines. The *Ode* was published¹ and distributed among Garrick's friends, and comment on it was frequent and diverse.

¹ An Ode upon Dedicating a Building, and Erecting a Statue to Shakespeare, at Stratford upon Avon. By David Garrick. London. 1769. To this Ode are subjoined "Testimonies to the Genius and Merits of Shakespeare."

But however much Garrick might desire to pay honor to Shakespeare, he was never oblivious to the demands of his own purse, and he had spent a great deal of money on his vagary, the Jubilee. It was a day of pageants and processions in the theatre; therefore he determined to make use at Drury Lane of the frustrated pageant of the Jubilee. The manager of Covent Garden Theatre, not to be outdone, announced for October 1, Colman's comedy, *Man and Wife: or the Shakespeare Jubilee*, in the course of which a pageant was to be introduced. Garrick's pageant was not ready, but not to be out-witted by his rival, he announced, as the afterpiece for September 30, the famous *Ode*.¹ And on October 14, the great pageant was at last presented, some lines in low-comedy style having been inserted to popularize the piece and to explain the action. The pageant was a profound success; it ran for ninety-two nights and made more evident than ever the profitable nature of Shakespeare idolatry.²

Foote of the Covent Garden Theatre raged at the adulation bestowed on his rival, and when he heard of the final atrocity of pecuniary gain, he planned revenge. He planned it, too, in characteristic eighteenth century fashion. He would introduce a mock procession at Covent Garden, with a man dressed to represent Garrick as Steward of the Jubilee—wand, medallion, gloves not

¹ Victor, B., *The History of the Theatres of London, from the year 1760 to the Present Time*. 1771. Vol. III, p. 154.

² Victor, I.c., Vol. II, p. 156.

forgotten. This noble creature was to be addressed by some ragamuffin of the procession in the famous words of the poet laureate,

A nation's taste depends on you,
Perhaps a nation's virtue too.

And the Steward should make reply, clapping his arms like the wings of a cock,

Cock-a-doodle-doo!

Garrick heard of the plan and feared it, for he always feared ridicule. But the Marquis of Stafford intervened and prevented this final break of friendship between the rival actors.¹ Foote, nevertheless, introduced into his comedy of *The Devil upon Two Sticks* the now celebrated description of the Jubilee:

A Jubilee is a public invitation, circulated by puffing, to go post without horses, to a Borough without representatives, governed by a Mayor and Aldermen, who are no magistrates, to celebrate a Poet, whose own works have made him immortal, by an ode without poetry, music without melody, dinners without victuals, and lodgings without beds; a masquerade where half the people are bare-faced, a horse race up to the knees in water, fireworks extinguished as soon as they were lighted, and a gingerbread amphitheater, which, like a house of cards, tumbled to pieces as soon as it was finished.

Through it all—adulation and ridicule—Garrick became more and more inseparable from Shakespeare in the public mind. He seemed the natural recipient of all sorts of Shakespeariana. Various admirers made further contributions from the wood of the mulberry tree. The most remarkable of

¹ Cooke, W., *Memoirs of Samuel Foote*, 1805. Vol. I, p. 164.

curios offered, however, was a "spotted coach-dog," "spotted like a leper," said to have been in Shakespeare's family and tendered by one H. Cooper.¹

The Jubilee itself was perennially popular. It was revived in 1775, again in 1777, and again in 1785.

In 1776 Garrick retired from the stage. In 1779 he died and was buried in Westminster Abbey just at the foot of the Shakespeare monument. And the words of Goldsmith's *Retaliation* were often said as a *pax vobiscum*,

Old Shakespeare receive him with praise and with love.

But even after Garrick's death Drury Lane continued the Shakespeare tradition begun by him there, and when the new Drury Lane was opened in 1794, the occasion was reminiscent of the Jubilee. The epilogue closed with the words,

The high decree is passed—may future age,
When pond'ring o'er the annals of the stage,
Rest on *this* time, when labour rear'd this pile
In tribute to the genius of our Isle.
This School of Art, with British sanction grac'd,
And worthy of a manly Nation's taste!
And now the image of our Shakespeare view,
And give the Drama's God the honor due!

As the last lines were spoken, the new iron curtain rose to reveal a beautiful scene, wherein was discovered by an ecstatic audience the statue of Shakespeare under his mulberry tree.²

¹ Gar. Cor., Vol. I, p. 424.

² Young, W. J., *Memoirs of Mrs. Crouch*. 1806. Vol. II, pp. 204-211.

Thus through the persistent devotion of a lifetime and through the dramatic expression of that devotion in the Jubilee, Garrick united his name and fame with Shakespeare's. And the moral of the tale is simply told: that he who honors Shakespeare honors not Shakespeare but himself, in witness whereof there stands the record of Shakespeare and Garrick—and the mulberry tree.

A DUTCH ANALOGUE OF *RICHARD THE THIRD*

O. J. CAMPBELL, JR.

In 1651 there was published in Amsterdam a play called *De Roode en Witte Roos*¹ written by Lambert van den Bosch.² It was a tragedy of five acts written in rhymed hexameters containing 1856 lines and treating the popular story of King Richard III of England.³ Although the author does not suggest in any way that the work is not completely original, it must ultimately have had an English source. That it was founded on Shakespeare's play seems practically impossible. The two dramas are quite unlike in general construction and no line in the Dutch play is a translation of a single line in Shakespeare's tragedy.

¹ *Roode en Witte Roos* of Lankaster en Jork/Bleijendend Treurspel. Qui terret plus ipse timet, sors ista Tyrannis Convenit/t' Amsterdam, Gedrukt by Tymon Houthaak/voor Dirk Cornelisz' Houthaak Boekverkooper op de hock/van de Nienwezijds Kolk/MDCLI.

² Spelt also Bos.

³ This play in its relation to English drama was first discussed by Dr. H. de W. Fuller, editor of *The Nation*, in a paper read before the *Modern Language Association* in 1904. Since that time other engrossing interests have prevented him from pursuing the lines of investigation which the discovery of this play disclosed. The material, however, seemed important enough to warrant its being made accessible. The present paper is by way of an introduction to an annotated edition of the Dutch play which the writer purposes to publish in the near future. Only those who heard Dr. Fuller's paper will appreciate how fundamental is the indebtedness of the present essay to his original and brilliant investigation.

In a similar fashion it can be shown not to be based directly on any other extant English play on the subject. There are certain bits of evidence, however, which suggest that the Dutch play was based not on any of the Chronicles, but upon an English drama now lost which held an important place in the development of the Richard saga before the composition of Shakespeare's play.

Lambert van den Bosch (1610–1698) owes his position in Dutch literature to his skillful translation and adaptation of foreign works of literature. His translation of *Don Quixote*, for example, remained the classical Dutch version of the romance for two centuries. His numerous translations from the English, our particular concern for the moment, show his perfect understanding of the language and his interest in the literature. In 1648 he rendered into Dutch a curious masque-like morality called *Lingua, or The Combat of the Tongue, and Five Senses for Superiority*, published in London in 1607; in 1658 Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels into Divers Parts of Africa and Asia Minor*; in 1661 John Dauncey's *History of his Sacred Majesty Charles II*, and in 1678 the anonymous treatise *The True and Historical Relation of the Poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury*.

We know, moreover, that he had manuscripts of other English works in his possession—comedies he calls them—the translation of which he had considered. In the introduction to his Dutch version of “*Lingua*” he addresses the Regent of the theatre as follows:

Gracious Friend:

Considerable time has elapsed since you gave me some English comedies, requesting that I look them over to see whether there was any worth translating. Accepting this proposal, I have chosen the morality *Lingua*, and have, as you requested, translated it into Dutch. I have not followed the words so much as the sense, and have here and there omitted things which, to be sure, would have made the play somewhat longer but certainly not more attractive.

From this address we are able to glean the highly interesting information that Van den Bosch was supplied by the director of the theatre with a number of cast-off English plays. Whether or not this collection of plays had been carried into Holland by a troupe of English actors or purchased in London by a Dutch bookseller or actor is for the moment of little importance. The point of immediate significance is that among these plays there might easily have been the drama upon which Van den Bosch based his *Roode en Witte Roos*,—a play which appeared only three years later. At least, it was a product of the same period of his literary activity as his translation of *Lingua*.

The direct relation of this Dutch tragedy to a lost English play is purely conjectural, yet there is no little internal evidence to suggest that the Dutch play, as it stands, bears a definite relation to the English dramatic tradition of Richard III. Indeed, it seems to form a real link in the complete chain which Shakespeare forged in his *Richard the Third*. At any rate *De Roode en Witte Roos* in both language and construction of scene resembles in turn Thomas Legge's *Richardus Tertius*, *The*

True Tragedie of Richard the Third, and Shakespeare's *Richard the Third*, and in points in which each of these plays differs from the chronicles and from the other two plays. Obviously such resemblances, if they prove too elaborate to be fortuitous, can be explained in only one of two ways. If Van den Bosch had been able to use all three of these plays as sources in addition to the chronicles, his production could have shown the three sorts of resemblances noted above. Such a situation is inherently very improbable, and becomes practically impossible when we remember the character of *Richardus Tertius*. It was an academic play probably never acted outside of Cambridge and never printed as far as we know until the nineteenth century. That this unprinted school play could have travelled by any method as far as Amsterdam seems on the face of it well-nigh impossible; that it should have travelled in company with two other plays on the same subject is completely impossible. We must dismiss, at once, then, the hypothesis that the Dutch play had this conveniently multiple source. The only other explanation of the diverse resemblances is that the Dutch play is a very definite part of the English dramatic tradition which culminated in Shakespeare.

Although for a complete establishment of this hypothesis, resemblances between this Dutch play and all the extant *Richard the Third* plays written in England ought to be examined, in this article I shall confine myself to the correspondences found

exclusively between *De Roode en Witte Roos* and Shakespeare's play.

One of the most striking of these correspondences is the scene in which Richard sues Queen Elizabeth for the hand of her daughter (Shakespeare IV, xi, lines 210-454. *De Roode en Witte Roos* IV, vi, 1-126). The Chronicles furnish only a bare hint for the similar dramatic situation in both plays. Hall has the following, which is based directly on the Hardyng continuation.

The King thus¹ (accordyng to his long desire) losed out of the bondes of matrimony, beganne to cast a foolyshe phantasie to Lady Elizabeth his nece, making much suite to have her ioyned with him in lawfull matrimony. But because all men, and the mayden her selfe moost of all, detested and abhorred this unlawfull and in maner unnaturall copulacion, he determined to prolonge and deferre the matter till he were in a more quietnes.²

The words "making much suite" are the vague suggestion from which the various authors have had to develop dramatic scenes of the king's wooing of his niece. In Legge's *Richardus Tertius* there is a scene of wooing between the king and his niece.³ It is distinctly Senecan in character and, as Prof. G. B. Churchill has suggested⁴, is doubtless reminiscent of the scene in *Hercules Furens* in which the tyrant Lycus woos Megara only to be rejected with the utmost scorn. Richard frankly admits his wickednesses to the Filia, but she is none the

¹ By the suspiciously convenient death of his wife Anne.

² Variorum *Richard the Third*, p. 493.

³ *Richardus Tertius*, Tertia Actio, Actus Quartus. Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Library*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 210-211.

⁴ *Richard the Third up to Shakespeare*, p. 349.

less shocked by them and the new crime he is urging her to commit in marrying him. She repels him violently:

Sit amor, sit odium, sit ira, vel sit fides:
Non curo: placet odisse, quicquid cogitas.
Tuus prius penetrabit ensis pectora,
Libido quam cognata corpus polluat.

When he attempts to force her by threats to accept his offer, she replies:

Nil minaris amplius?
Mallem mori virgo, tyranno quam viro
Incesta vivere, deis, hominibusque invida;

and a moment later she breaks out again:

Neronis umbrae, atque furiae Cleopatrae
Truces resurgite, similem finem date
His nuptiis, qualem tulit Oedipodae domus.
Nec suffecit fratres necasses tuos principes?
Et nobili foedare caede dexteram?
Quin et integra stuprare quaeras virgine
Maritus? O mores, nefanda tempora.

In this excited state of anger and horror she flees the king. To Legge the greatest interest in this scene lay in the Filia's rhetorical assertions of her passionate devotion to purity.

Shakespeare has introduced no such encounter between Richard and the Princess Elizabeth. Such a direct check as hers at this point in Richard's career would have been incompatible with the principle of his dramatic construction. The tyrant's triumphs were to continue unchecked until Nemesis through the instrumentality of Richmond overtook him. Shakespeare, therefore, substitutes

a trenchant dialogue between Richard and the Queen in which he gradually wins from her something near consent to his wooing of the Princess.

The king's method is very like that which he adopted in his wooing of Anne. He adroitly kindles her anger in the hope that it will burn itself out in a series of flashes. He begins by merely mentioning the Princess:

You have a daughter call'd Elisabeth
Vertuous and Faire, Royall and Gracious

To this the queen replies with a burst of irony and anger not all unexpected:

And must she dye for this? O let her live
And I'll corrupt her manners, staine her beauty, etc.

At first the queen bitterly attacks Richard for his crimes against her family, without provoking him, however, to any sort of defence. He treats all her personal anger with studied irrelevance, adroitly transforming an apparently frank admission of guilt into skillfully reiterated pleading. For example, when she violently reproaches him with his foulest deeds, he suggests

Say that I did all this for love of her.

After wooing of this sort, half-ironical in method but wholly serious in intention, he breaks into speeches of sustained ardour which seem to have won the queen. Richard, at least, is convinced that she has consented to be the attorney of his love to her daughter.

In *De Roode en Witte Roos* Richard opens the corresponding scene with an attempt to comfort the grieving queen which seems to her pure hypocrisy: "You are no stranger to the cause of my grief," she exclaims in a sentence which in this play is the sole equivalent of the series of reproaches uttered by Shakespeare's queen. Then, as in *Richard the Third*, the king admits the grievous wrong he has done her, but suggests that he did it reluctantly, at the behest of the commons. At this moment he is eager to make amends:

Here now I stand, nay I kneel at thy feet, ready in every way to assuage thy grief. My true love shall make recompense for all my guilt. Dry thy tears, my Lady, have more patience. Instead of sister—a name which I today will forget—henceforth thou shalt be called my mother. What if the people have transferred the crown from thee to me! I shall again confer it with all honor upon thy heritors—if thou wilt but consent to my desire. Give me now thy daughter Elizabeth in marriage.¹

These lines certainly recall the following lines from Shakespeare:

Looke what is done, cannot be now amended:
Men shall deale unadvisedly sometimes,
Which after houres give leysure to repent.
If I did take the Kingdom from your Sonnes,
To make amends, Ile give it to your daughter.
If I have killed the issue of your wombe,
To quicken your encrease, I will beget
Mine yssue of your blood upon your Daughter.
A grandam's name is little lesse in love,
Then is the doting title of a mother;²

.....

¹ *De Roode en Witte Roos*, IV, vi, 29–36.

² *Richard the Third*, IV, iv, 308–317.

Go then (my mother) to thy daughter go.¹

.....
Therefore deare mother (I must call you so)²

The intellectual content of these two passages is practically the same. (1). In both plays Richard insinuates with an hypocrisy donned for a definite purpose that he repents of his crimes. (2). In both passages he offers to make amends for his theft of the crown. From the Queen's family he has stolen it; to the Queen's family he will return it through his projected marriage with her daughter. (3). In both passages Richard makes much of the new relationship which he hopes is to be established between him and the queen. He seeks to win her with the dear name he has robbed of half its significance. Only in Shakespeare, to be sure, does "mother" flash out each time Richard's diabolical humility and ironical tenderness.

The Queen in the Dutch play answers the pleading of the King with feigned humility. "You really do us too great an honor," she says. "A person of greater power would be a stronger stay for your throne. As for us, let us enjoy but peace and oblivion." To which Richard replies:

You mock me, lady.

In Shakespeare's play he makes exactly the same remark to the Queen. There, to be sure, it is a reply to her savagely sarcastic advice as to the proper methods of wooing her daughter.

¹ Ibid I. 340.

² Ibid I. 435.

Send to her by the man that slew her Brothers
A paire of bleeding hearts.

Richard. You mock me, Madam, this is not the way
To win your daughter.

This bit of verbal identity between the plays is interesting; and if fortuitous, really remarkable.

In spite of the hostile attitude of the Queen, in both plays Richard urges the mother to further his wishes. "Your maternal influence in the matter reassures me," he says in the Dutch play,—a speech which is a condensed equivalent of his long appeal in Shakespeare's play for the mother to serve as his active emissary. The Queen in Van Bosch's play disclaims any influence upon her daughter and urges Richard not to make an effort to win her which she knows will prove futile. Nevertheless he orders the obdurate princess to come into his presence at once. She appears and repels her uncle's advances with as much horror as she had shown in *Richardus Tertius* and more fury. She even begs for a sword to plunge into the cursed entrails of her brother's murderer. Her mother's plea that she heed her uncle only aggravates her righteous anger and she leaves threatening Richard with dire vengeance. The Queen after reminding the rejected lover that she had warned him of the refusal, begs permission to depart. Richard, by this time irate, shouts,

Go, and may the Devil curse you and all your race!

In Shakespeare's play the interview ends with a similar contemptuous thrust by Richard:

Bear her my true loves kisse, and so farewell,
Relenting Foole, and shallow-changing Woman.

Except for the introduction of the Princess in an interview which might be an intensified version of the similar one in *Richardus Tertius*, the two scenes are alike in construction and progress of dramatic idea. The very conception of the dialogue between the Queen and Richard on this subject, alike in both plays, yet not indicated in chronicle sources, suggests a relation of some sort between the two dramas. Moreover, Richard attempts to win the mother to his plans by the same sort of specious, insinuating flattery. The Dutch play may well represent a version which is an elaboration of Legge's simple Senecan invention. If such a version had been known to Shakespeare, it is easy to see why he should have found Richard's repulse by Elizabeth inconsistent with his conception of his villain hero and the nature of his tragedy. Nemesis could not have been allowed to possess a multitude of instruments or gradually to have worn away the King's insolent power. It had to strike instantaneously and through a single human agent. Once the princess is eliminated from this scene, however, the dialogue that remains is nothing but a rudimentary form of Shakespeare's highly wrought scene.

De Roode en Witte Roos is like Shakespeare in other respects in which they both differ from the

chronicles. One of such scenes is the interview between Gloucester and the young King upon the latter's arrival in London to be crowned. The boy is greatly distressed at the cruel arrest of his uncles Rivers and Grey. Richard naturally asserts that they were dangerous traitors, seeking thereby to transform his own base conduct into disinterested patriotism in the eyes of his nephew and to allay his intrusive suspicions.¹

In both Hall and Holinshed the rudiments of such a scene take place at Stony Stratford, whither Gloucester and Buckingham have ridden to get the King completely in their power before he reaches London. In Hall's Chronicle the events are related as follows:

And then [after Rivers' arrest] they mounted on horsbacke and came in haste to Stony Stratforde, where the Kynge was goyng to horsebacke, because he would leave the lodgyng for them, for it was to straight for bothe the compaignies. And when they came to his presence, they alighted and their compaignie aboute them and on their knees saluted hym, and he them gentely received, nothing yerthly knowyng ner mistrusting as yet.—And therewith in the Kinge's presence they picked a quarrel to the Lord Richard Grey, the quene's sone, and brother to the lord Marquess and halfebrother to the King, sayng that he and the Marques his brother and the lord Ryvers his uncle had compassed to rule the Kyng and realme—And towarde thaccomplishment of the same, they sayde, the lord Marques had entred into the towre of London, and thence had taken out treasure and sent men to sea, which thynges these dukes knewe well were done for a good purpose and as very necessary, appointed by the whole counsaill at London, but somewhat they muste say. Unto the whiche woordes the Kynge answered, what my brother Marques hath done I cannot say, but in good faythe I dare well answer for mine uncle Rivers and my brother here, that they be innocent of suche matters.

¹ *De Roode en Witte Roos*, I, i, & *Richard the Third*, III, i.

Yee, my lieage, quod the duke of Buckyngham, they have kept the dealyng of these matters farre from the knowledge of youre good grace.—And there they sent from the Kyng whom it pleased them, and set aboute him such servantes as better pleased them then him. At which dealyng he wepte and was not content, but it booted not. . . . In this maner as you have heard, the Duke of Gloucester toke on him the governaunce of the younge Kynge, whom with much reverence he conveied towards London.¹

The scene in the *True Tragedie of Richard the Third*, the earliest extant dramatization of this particular part of the story, follows closely the above account. It, too, is laid in Stony Stratford, and in all essentials is a mere mechanical elaboration of the material in the chronicles. After Gloucester, Buckingham and “their train” have arrested Rivers, they meet the young King.

Richard. Long live my Princely Nephew in all happinesse.

King. Thanks unckle of Gloster for your curtesie, yet you have made hast, for we lookt not for you as yet.

Then Lord Grey upon the merest pretext is accused of malice to the royal blood and arrested as traitor. The young King protests against this seizure as palpable contempt for his authority and as unjust to Lord Grey.

King. I know my uncle will conceale no treason, or dangerous secresie from us.

Richard. Yes, secrets that are too subtil for babes. Alasse, my Lord, you are a child, and they use you as a child; but they consult and conclude of such matters, as were we not carefull, would prove preiudiciall to your Maiesties person. Therefore let not your grace feare anything by our determination, for as my authoritie is only under your grace, so shall

¹ Edward Hall's Chronicle, etc.—carefully collated with the editions of 1548 and 1550. London, 1809. p. 349.

my loyalte deserve hereafter the just recompense of a true subiect, therfore I hauing charge from my brother, your father, and our late deceased king, during the minorite of your grace, I will use my authoritie as I see good.¹

In Shakespeare there is no scene exactly corresponding to this one. The arrest of Lord Rivers and Lord Grey is reported by a messenger. The interview between the young King, Gloster, Buckingham, the Lord Cardinal and others, in defiance of Chronicle authority laid in London, is as follows:

Buckingham. Welcome, sweete Prince to London,
To your Chamber.

Richard. Welcome deere Cosin, my thoughts Soueraign
The wearie way hath made you Melancholly.

Prince. No Unkle, but our crosses on the way,
Haue made it tedious, wearisome. and heauie.

I want more Unkles heere to welcome me.

Richard. Sweet Prince, the untainted vertue of your yeers
Hath not yet diu'd into the World's deceit;
No more can you distinguish of a man,
Then of his outward shew, which God he knowes,
Seldome or never jumpeth with the heart.
Those Unkles which you want, were dangerous:
Your Grace attended to their Sugred words,
But look'd not on the poyson of their hearts:
God keepe you from them, and from such false Friends.

Prince. God keepe me from false Friends,
But they were none.²

In the Dutch play the scene is also laid not at Stony Stratford but in London,—a significant point of agreement. The nobles who greet the King are Gloucester and Buckingham, as in Shakespeare; but instead of the Lord Cardinal, the Archbishop York. This last substitution suggests that

¹ Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Library*, V, pp. 77 ff.

² III, i, ll. 5-22.

the ultimate source of *De Roode en Witte Roos* at this point was not Hall as in *Richard the Third* but Holinshed. As Professor Churchill has pointed out¹ in making this change of personage Holinshed followed More, who by an historical mistake not found in the Latin version, confused the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. This fact in itself is sufficient to show that the source of *De Roode en Witte Roos* is not Shakespeare's *Richard the Third*.

The dialogue of this scene in the Dutch play is as follows:

Gloicester. Believe me, nephew, your gracious Majesty in truth hath no cause at all for fear. Am I not of thy blood, thy nearest of kin? Was not the care of thine estate entrusted to me? Did not thy father command me to guard thy precious head? Ah, believe thine uncle and let no suspicions be harbored in thy heart. 'Tis all to thine advantage, for thy good, whatever may happen anywhere, however thy Majesty may choose to interpret it. 'Tis true, and ought to give thee the greatest joy that hands have been laid upon thy brother.

Grey. But what, I pray thee, is the cause of such an act?

Gloicester. Was it not sanctioned by all the other noblemen, as a fitting penalty for the crimes of such filthy villains?

King. That's not proved.

Gloicester. Ha! They have feigned very well. Their supreme cunning is that their deeds are easily concealed from thy royal throne. But there is proof enough. 'Tis known that they did steal away from the tower its treasure and its arms. Why did they this but to beleaguer thy youthful Majesty? They know that thou art yet in years tender and inexperienced; and that breeds plots against thy life. Such traitors fail to remember that thine uncle's heart would rather burst within its breast than be reproached by anyone with lack of faith.

¹ *Richard the Third* up to Shakespeare, p. 20f.

This dramatic version follows the account in the Chronicles rather faithfully. Yet it differs from the traditional story (1) in that the scene is laid in London, (2) in that the hypocrisy of Richard is made a little more suave and intriguing, and (3) in that the young King is made more determined in his assertion of the innocence of Rivers and Grey. Shakespeare's scene differs from the Chronicle sources in these same respects. The manner in which the Prince develops from a mere counter in expository dialogue into a figure upon whom the dramatic appeal is designedly centered is illuminative of the true relations between the various accounts.

In Hall the King defends his relatives in the following careless fashion:

In good faythe I dare well answer for mine uncle Rivers and my brother here that they be innocente of suche matters.

In *The True Tragedie* his reply is of the same mild, impersonal sort:

I knowe my uncle will conceale no treason or dangerous secresie from us.

In the Dutch play he vindicates his relatives with much more assurance and determination. In reply to Richard's assertion that the two have received condign punishment for their villainy, he replies sharply,

That's not proved.

In Shakespeare's play this courageous attitude of loyalty is made the point of the interview between the King and his uncle:

Richard. Your Grace attended to their Sugred words,
But looked not on the poyson of their hearts;
God keepe you from them, and from such false Friends.
Prince. God keepe me from false Friends,
But they were none.

All the conversation in this scene is designed to lead up to this speech. More than any other remark the Prince makes, this one establishes the wistful charm of his character and the utter pathos of his fate. As soon as he has made this brave speech, Shakespeare purposely diverts our attention to an entirely different situation.

Assuming for the moment that the Dutch scene represents a dramatic version earlier than that of Shakespeare, one could hardly find a better illustration of the gradual eminence of dramatic point and instantaneous revelation of character out of artless narrative, than in the successive stages of the development of this one speech of the young King.

Perhaps the most interesting point of comparison between the two plays is found in the appearance of the ghosts. The Chronicles contain but the barest suggestion for such a highly complicated scene as that in Shakespeare. Hall has merely the following:

The fame went that he had the same night a dreadful and a terrible dreame, for it seemed to him beyng a slepe that he saw diverse ymages lyke terrible devilles whiche pulled and haled hym, not sufferynge hym to take any quyete or rest. The whiche straunge vision not so sodeinly strake his heart with a sodeyne feare, but it stuffed his hed and troubled his mynde with many dreadfull and busy Imaginacions. For incontynent after, his heart beyng almost damped, he prognosticated before

the doubtfull chaunce of the bataille to come, not usynge the alacrite and myrthe of mynde and of countenance as he was accustomed to do before he came toward the bataille. And least that it might be suspected that he was abashed for feare of his enemyes, and for that cause looked so piteously, he recyted and declared to his famylyer frendes in the morenyng hys wonderfull visyon and terrible dream. But I think this was no dreame, but a punccion and pricke of his synfull conscience.¹

The author of *The True Tragedie*, the first extant play to embody this particular material, indicated the dramatic possibilities of the "diverse ymages lyke terrible devilles which pulled and haled him" without actually dramatizing them. The following monologue of the King recounts his dreadful colloquy with the "ymages."

Enters the King and Lord Lovell.

King. The hell of life that hangs upon the Crowne,
 The daily cares, the nightly dreames,
 The wretched crewes, the treason of the foe,
 The horror of my bloodie practise past,
 Strikes such a terror to my wounded conscience
 That sleep I, wake I, whatsoever I do,
 Meethinkes their ghoasts comes gaping for revenge,
 Whome I have slain in reaching for a Crowne.
 Clarence complaines, and crieth for revenge,
 My Nephues bloods, Revenge, revenge doth crie.
 The headless Peeres come preasing for revenge.
 And everyone cries, let the tyrant die.
 The Sunne by day shines hotely for revenge.
 The Moone of night eclipseth for revenge.
 The Stars are turned to Comets for revenge.
 The Planets chaunge their courses for revenge.
 The birds sing not, but sorrow for revenge.
 The silly Lambes sit bleating for revenge.
 The screeking Raven sits croaking for revenge.
 Whole herds of beasts comes bellowing for revenge.
 And all, yea all the world I think
 Cries for revenge, and nothing but revenge.
 But to conclude, I have deserved revenge.²

¹ Hall's Chronicle, p. 414.

² Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Library*, V, 117.

The author spends most of his creative energy in this scene in the rhetorical massing of the all important Senecan word. Yet, in passing, as it were, he has transformed the vague "diverse ymages" into the ghosts of those

Whome I have slaine in reaching for a Crowne.

Part of Shakespeare's ghost scene is merely a dramatization of this suggestion. The ghost of Prince Edward, Henry the Sixth, Clarence, Rivers, Grey, Vaughan, Lord Hastings, the two young Princes, his wife Anne, and Buckingham each rises in turn to take his ominous revenge. Each one rehearses briefly the circumstances of his death and then ends with a cry which becomes a sort of refrain, "Despaire and dye." When the last one has vanished, Richard starts from his dream and utters his famous speech:

Giue me another Horse, bind up my Wounds:
 Haue mercy Jesu. Soft, I did but dreame.
 O coward Conscience! how dost thou afflict me?
 The Lights burn blew. It is not dead midnight.
 Cold fearefull drops stand on my trembling flesh.
 What? do I feare my Selfe? There's none else by,
 Richard loues Richard, that is I am I.
 Is there a Murtherer heere? No; Yes, I am:
 Then flye; What from my Selfe? Great reason: why?
 Lest I reuenge. What? my Selfe upon my Selfe?
 Alacke, I loue my Selfe. Wherefore? For any good
 That I my Selfe, haue done unto my Selfe?
 O no. Alas, I rather hate my Selfe,
 For hatefull deeds committed by my Selfe.
 I am a Villaine: yet I Lye, I am not.
 Foole, of thy Selfe speake well: Foole, do not flatter.
 My Conscience hath a thousand seuerall Tongues,
 And euery Tongue brings in a seuerall Tale,

And euery Tale condemnes me for a Villaine;
 Periurie, in the high'st degree,
 Murther, sterne murther, in the dyr'st degree,
 All seuerall sinnes, all us'd in each degree,
 Thronge all to' th' Barre, crying all, Guilty, Guilty.
 I shall dispaire, there is no Creature loues me;
 And if I die, no soule shall pittie me.
 Nay, wherefore should they? Since that I my Selfe,
 Finde in my Selfe, no pittie to my Selfe.
 Me thought, the Soules of all that I had murther'd
 Came to my tent, and euery one did threat
 To morrowes vengeance on the head of Richard.¹

This speech has been usually considered a mixture of tragical effectiveness and mere verbal quibble. The following sentence from Skottowe's *Life of Shakespeare* expresses the traditional critical opinion of the passage. "The first six lines of this soliloquy," he writes, "are deeply expressive of the terrors of a guilty conscience; but the conceits and quibbles which disfigure the remainder completely destroy the moral impression."²

I believe that a possible explanation of this psychologizing may be found in the ghost scene as it appears in *De Roode en Witte Roos*. (V. ii, ll 1-27.)

Richard—Ghost.

Richard. What art thou? Gracious Heaven! What terror shakes my limbs! Vain fear. I will approach it somewhat nearer. Who art thou? Speak, I say. May the thunder smite thee! What is thy name?

Ghost. My name is Richard.

Richard. Richard?

Ghost. Yes.

Richard. I am startled and quake with fear. What seek'st thou here?

¹ V, iii, 209-238.

² II, 202.

Ghost. Myself.

Richard. O God! What horror comes to pierce my heart.
My mind is completely amazed, and finds no peace. There
it departs and flees much lighter than the wind. What
ghost or frenzy has come hither to assail me?

Ghost from within. Hold, Richard!

Richard. Who is there?

Ghost from within. Your death is at hand.

Richard. Ah me!

If Shakespeare had known such a scene as this in which the ghost of Richard's own self had appeared to him, it is not improbable that he would have transformed it into an introspective soliloquy such as his character utters. His villain hero was too brave and too masterful to be reduced to a state of nervous terror by his own image. The prophecy of death appropriate enough in the mouth of the ghost himself, reiterated again and again as in Shakespeare, becomes a vast pervasive supernatural curse beneath which even a strong man might quail. Moreover, the actual appearance of Richard's ghost might have seemed over ingenious. As an excited recognition of the duality of his personality, the idea was more impressive. Yet certain parts of Shakespeare's scene,—notably such lines as:

Is there a murderer here? No, Yes, I am.

Then flye: What from my Selfe? Great reason; why?
Lest I revenge, What? My Selfe upon Myself.

taken by themselves are almost inexplicable. Only when we read them in relation to some such postulated source as that represented in the Dutch play do they become intelligible.

In this discussion I have occasionally assumed that the position of the Dutch play in the Richard Saga could be fixed with some definiteness. It seems, now and then, to be best understood as representing an English version of the story antecedent to that of Shakespeare. My present purpose is not so ambitious. For the moment I am content to show that in *De Roode en Witte Roos*, published in Amsterdam in 1651, we have an interesting and illuminating analogue of Shakespeare's *Richard the Third*.

JOSEPH RITSON AND SOME EIGHTEENTH CENTURY EDITORS OF SHAKESPEARE

HENRY A. BURD

The eighteenth century is replete with editors and critics of Shakespeare. The increasing volume of Shakespeare literature as the century advanced represents that growing interest in the old English writers and increasing familiarity with their works which we are told was one of the "beginnings of romanticism". This rising interest was a complex growth. There are the bare mathematical facts of the increasing number of Shakespeare references and allusions in the literature and in the private correspondence of the century; the increasing frequency with which new editions appeared; and the rapidly growing army of annotators, commentators, and essayists. Then there are the less tangible but no less real facts of the changing attitude toward Shakespeare: from a patronizing view of the dramatist as an inspired barbarian, to a conception of him as the transcendent artist; from a blind and ignorant worship to a sane and serious study; from a heterogeneous hodge-podge of criticism to a common conception of the duties of the editor and critic.

This evolution was gradual, but it was more rapid toward the close of the century than at the beginning. Some of the greatest and some of the least of England's literary men helped it along. To the lesser, oftentimes, was it given to correct the greater and to make straight the paths for feet more worthy to tread them. One of the least known of these minor agencies, though by no means the least important, was Joseph Ritson, 1752-1803, critic of Shakespeare and of Shakespeare's critics. Although his chief claim to attention in the history of English letters must continue to rest upon his work with the ballads and romances, yet he deserves to be better known as a critic and emendator of Shakespeare. Unlike many, if not most, of his contemporaries, he had a profound reverence for Shakespeare and considered him the great universal genius. He had a thorough knowledge of the original quartos and folios, which enabled him to detect textual mutilations and alterations. Through his influence these first texts received something of the consideration due them at the hands of Shakespeare's editors. Ritson possessed ideas of editorship and a conception of the function of the critic which were in advance of his day, and by unremitting insistence upon them he helped to establish standards which are now recognized as inviolable. His own contributions to Shakespearean interpretation are by no means to be ignored. Most at home in the minutiae of textual correction, he was not devoid of an appre-

ciation of the characters and of the plays as a whole, and made many sound observations upon them.

To these qualities the personal equation added more in the case of Ritson than in that of perhaps any one of his contemporaries. The personal, controversial flavor which was characteristic of eighteenth century criticism, but which is almost wholly wanting in our own day, lent interest to all Ritson's comments. He had a vein of acidity in his nature which could not be hidden, and much of his criticism was poignantly personal. He often put Shakespeare in the background while he lashed Steevens or Dr. Johnson or Malone, or even Reed or Farmer. But he respected these men, and in his less heated moments invariably repented of his harsh treatment of them. Such conduct brought down upon his head the scorn and ridicule of the reviewers. The *Reviews* may have killed Keats; they galvanized Ritson into action and gave us one, and perhaps two, Shakespeare pamphlets we should not otherwise have had. Because they afforded the means of carrying on personal warfare, and because they seemed, in large measure, published for that purpose rather than for the display of Ritson's Shakespearean scholarship, the chronology of his pamphlets separates rather distinctly from the criticisms as such.

In 1783 appeared a small volume of disconnected notes entitled *Remarks, Critical and Illustrative, on the Text and Notes of the Last Edition of Shakespeare*. It was directed against the Johnson and Steevens *Shakspeare* of 1778, and especially against

Steevens. Although the book was anonymous, the minute character of the notes and the tone of personal rancor with which they were set forth, left little doubt as to their author. Of the 457 notes in the volume, half are concerned with textual emendation, the remainder with errors of judgment of Steevens and his fellow commentators.

It was little to be expected that Steevens, whose insinuating abuse had already disposed of a brace of critical opponents, would let pass without some effort at refutation, a charge more serious against his literary reputation and more ably sustained than that of either Collins or Jennens. Under the signature of "Alciphron" (in the *St. James's Chronicle*, June 5, 1783) he dismissed the *Remarks* as trivial and insignificant, as treating not a single "important and shining passage of Shakspeare". Signing himself "Justice", Ritson replied the next week that the design of the "Remarker" had been to prove the late edition of Shakespeare "an execrable bad one; and this, I say, he has done." Such school-boy assertion and denial did nothing, of course, to establish the critical status of Ritson or his book; they served merely as means of escape for personal animus. When the edge of their rancor had grown dull, Steevens and Ritson continued on friendly terms. The editor kept the critic informed of his various undertakings and was from time to time supplied by him with interesting notes on Shakespeare.

It was perhaps largely owing to their continued correspondence that Ritson came eventually to feel that his published attack upon Steevens was quite unworthy of himself. More than a decade after its appearance, he wrote to his nephew, Joseph Frank, who had undertaken to make some corrections in it: "In behalf of the *Remarks* I have nothing to say. Indeed, I should think you much better employed in putting them into the fire, than in a vain attempt to diminish the inaccuracies of such a mass of error, both typographical and authorial." Ritson's final estimate of Steevens accords well with the judgment of posterity. As a commentator he recognized his rival as a man of acuteness and wit, whose arguments were "always ingenious and plausible, but not in every way convincing," but as an editor of Shakespeare he thought him deficient in true poetical feeling, and devoid of reverence for his author.

The Warton controversy¹ had brought Ritson into a prominence not altogether enviable as a critic and antagonist, and the reception of the *Remarks* by the *Reviews* was largely influenced by the opinion previously formed of its author. The minute accuracy in textual collations, the extensive learning displayed, the contributions to Shakespeare interpretation—all these were damned with faint praise as the reviewers hastened on to con-

¹ Ritson was introduced to the literary world in 1782 through the medium of a controversial pamphlet, *Observations on the three first volumes of the History of English Poetry in a Familiar Letter to the Author*. For nearly a year the correspondence columns of the literary journals were filled with letters praising or condemning, with varying degrees of ardor or violence, this pamphlet and its author.

demn the offensive assurance, the unwonted egotism, and the unparalleled violence of the author. Using the methods which they condemned, they turned Ritson's own weapons upon himself and accused him of plagiarizing from the *Supplements* of Malone and Steevens material to correct their own faults. To the arch-enemy of plagiarists and editorial defaulters, this was a serious charge; and he hastened to enter his denial. In addition to Ritson's assertion that he "was not aware of being anticipated in more than a single instance," it appears from chronology that plagiarism was all but impossible.¹ The logical conclusion is that the notes in question occurred simultaneously to Ritson and Malone (or Steevens), working independently.

Whereas his own books were little praised and largely censured, Ritson frequently saw less accurate productions accorded unalloyed praise. It was impossible for him to understand why of two works, the one moderately correct but urbane in manner, the other flawless in fact but vituperative in tone, the less perfect should be the more highly commended. Quick to detect and anxious to punish any personal thrust at himself, he refused to grant to others the same privilege, and indeed seemed not to know when he had spoken so sharply as to give offense. He proclaimed himself enlisted in the cause of Truth, and in her service he considered everything fair. If enthusiasm for his goddess sometimes led him beyond the bounds of

¹ Ritson's volume went to press in October, 1782, and was published in the spring of 1783, a few weeks, at the most, after the *Second Supplement*.

literary propriety, he either did not recognize it, or, recognizing, justified the means by the end. But his critics refused to take this view, and largely ignored the truth of his writings while they condemned his manner. The reviewers seemed even to go out of their way to censure him. From this he came to believe that they were in league to destroy his literary character, and grew to feel that he had a personal grievance against them.

In the Reed edition of the Johnson and Steevens *Shakspeare*, 1785, Ritson felt that he had been very unjustly dealt with, and this in spite of the fact that more than two hundred of the notes in the *Remarks* had been appropriated by the editor. When the tardy reviews of this edition appeared, Ritson was sneered at as an "orthographic mutineer," and as a critic he was relegated to the ranks of the "unimportant." Thus stung to action he took up the notes he had made "in turning over the revised edition immediately after its publication, but had laid aside and almost forgotten,"¹ and put them to the press as, *The Quip Modest; a few words by way of Supplement to Remarks, Critical and Illustrative, on the Text and Notes of the Last Edition of Shakspeare; occasioned by a republication of that Edition, Revised and Augmented by the Editor of Dodsley's Old Plays*. There was a Preface in which he heaped scorn and invective on those "very good Christians," his "liberal and candid friends," the reviewers.

¹ These notes consisted of a score of comments from the *Remarks* and a dozen new notes, mostly textual.

The notes in which Ritson considered himself most disrespectfully treated were signed with the editor's initials, but he chose to think them not from Reed, but from "some obliging friend who has desired to be effectually concealed under the sanction of the editor's signature." That he thought this "obliging friend" to be Steevens is clear from the following comment, which was a part of the original Preface: "This worthy gentleman is probably the infamous scoundrel who published *An Address to the Curious in Poetry*,¹ as, however little relation it may have to Shakspeare, the author has had interest enough to procure it a place in the 'List of Detached Pieces of Criticism, &c.,' prefixed to the revised edition. A congeniality of disposition in the Critical Reviewers procured this fellow a different reception from those literary hangmen, from that which he may one day experience from a well-known practical professor of the same mystery."

After a few copies of the *Quip Modest* had been sold, Ritson came to feel, or, more probably, was persuaded, that this note was "too strong for the person alluded to," and he stopped the sale of the work long enough to cancel it and substitute the following—perhaps ironical—statement:² "Above all I wish to declare that the candor, liberality,

¹ *A Familiar Address to the Curious in English Poetry, more particularly to the Readers of Shakspeare.* By Thersites Literarius. London, 1784. This rather inconsequential tract was written in the first person as though it came from Ritson, and gave him great offense.

² Ritson was not yet far enough removed from his original quarrel with Steevens to treat him with the candor which he later exhibited.

and politeness which distinguish Mr. Steevens, utterly exclude *him* from every imputation of this nature."

But Steevens and the reviewers were not the only ones to feel Ritson's wrath in his second Shakespeare pamphlet. Reed was the ostensible editor of the work under fire, and although Ritson, rather awkwardly, attempted to exclude him from all blame, he did not succeed. These two men had been friends for several years, and both were loath to break the ties. When the *Quip Modest* appeared, Reed wrote to Ritson protesting their friendship as sufficient guarantee of his good intentions toward the critic, but omitting to disavow the notes at which Ritson had taken deep offense. John Baynes, 1758-1787, was appointed arbitrator, and after the exchange of several letters, in which Reed ultimately flatly disclaimed the objectionable notes, the breach was healed, and each man expressed himself as desirous of the continued friendship of the other and anxious to forget the past.

If Ritson really believed that his indecent slurs in the *Quip Modest* would cause the reviewers to treat him with less familiarity, he was a poor judge of human nature. If, on the other hand, he was wilfully provoking them to further assaults that he might have justification for a counter-attack, he accomplished his purpose. The *Quip Modest* was handled by the reviewers in a half-humorous manner as the inconsequential production of an eccentric critic. The attitude of conscious superiority assumed by the reviewers

angered Ritson now more than it had done before. In his view it was beyond the pale of human possibility for any one to judge fairly, after only a casual perusal, a book which had been months—perhaps years—in preparation. The presumptuousness of the reviewers in doing this, he was bound to expose. His opportunity came in the publication of Malone's *Shakspeare*, in 1790.

After two years of preparation and delay, Ritson published a pamphlet of a hundred and four pages, entitled, *Cursory Criticisms on the Edition of Shakspeare Published by Edmond Malone*. He prefixed a bitterly acrimonious letter "To the Monthly and Critical Reviewers," for the purpose, he says, "to induce you, before you pass sentence on the following pages, to read them through: '*Strike, but hear.*'" "I consider you," he cries, "as two formidable and mischievous gangs of nocturnal banditti, or invisible footpads, equally cowardly and malignant, who attack where there can be no defense, and assassinate or destroy where you cannot plunder. Shakspeare's morality, in the hands of a Reviewer, is to be read backward, like a witch's prayer."¹

Be it said for the reviewers that they recognized when a controversy had degenerated beneath the

¹ Cf. Dr. John Brown's characterization of the reviewers as "two notorious gangs of monthly and critical book-thieves hackneyed in the ways of wickedness, who, in the rage of hunger and malice, first plunder, and then abuse, maim, or murder, every honest author who is possessed of aught worth their carrying off; yet by skulking among other vermin in cellars and garrets, keep their persons tolerably well out of sight, and thus escape the hands of literary justice." *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*. London, 1758. Vol. II, p. 75.

dignity of gentlemen, and dismissed Ritson and his billingsgate "without feeling one spark of resentment."

With the gentle Malone himself, Ritson was only less severe than with the reviewers. He undertook the work with an avowed purpose "to convict Malone, not to convince him." And he would convict him on the following counts: with "a total want of ear and judgment"; with "replacing all the gross and palpable blunders of the first folio"; with "deforming the text, and degrading the margin with intentional corruption, flagrant misrepresentation, malignant hypercriticism, and unexampled scurrility."

Malone had treated Ritson with scant respect in his edition, referring to him as a "shallow or half-informed remarker", and alluding to his "profound ignorance" and "crude notions". This Ritson considered ample justification for heaping upon the editor all manner of vilification and abuse—a course which he followed with more consistency in this than in either of the earlier pamphlets.

In this controversy Malone had more at stake than the reviewers, and he did not give over the contest so readily as they. A letter in the *St. James's Chronicle* for March 27, 1792, defending Malone, was probably written by himself. Magazine warfare had proved disastrous to Ritson, from the mere superiority of the enemy's numbers, if for no other reason, and he prudently refrained from replying to this letter. This article did not fully satisfy Malone's purposes, however, and the

next month he published *A Letter to Richard Farmer, relative to the Edition of Shakspeare, published in 1790, and some Criticisms on that Work*, in which he vindicated his own care and industry, but failed to establish his reputation for metrical judgment.

To Ritson's credit let it be said that again he made no public reply. He did, however, write boastingly to his friend Robert Harrison, apropos of *Cursory Criticisms* and Malone's *Letter*: "I flatter myself I have totally demolished the great Malone. He has attempted to answer it [*Cursory Criticisms*] by the most contemptible thing in nature." But Ritson was not always so sanguine of his success in demolishing his opponent. As in each preceding instance, when the heat of the contest had passed over, when his anger had had time to cool in thoughtful retrospection, he repented his rash act and sought in some way to make restitution. To his nephew, who followed blindly and doggedly in his footsteps, he wrote in 1796: "You will do Mr. Malone a great injustice if you suppose him to be in all respects what I may have endeavored to represent him in some. In order that he may recover your more favorable opinion, let me recommend to your perusal, the discussion, in his *Prolegomena*, entitled 'Shakspeare, Ford and Johnson', and his 'Dissertation on the three parts of King Henry Sixth' (to which I am more indebted for an acquaintance with the manner of our great dramatic poet than to anything I ever read)." It is stated, on the authority of his biographer, Sir Harris Nicolas, that Ritson carried out his

repentance and made good his *amend* by buying up and destroying all the copies of *Cursory Criticisms* that remained in the hands of his publishers.

These three slight volumes constitute Ritson's Shakespearean publications. They are all very much alike. Each one is an attack upon an editor and his work; the author's manner is almost invariably over-bearing, if not insolent; and he exhibits more critical ability than good manners. But the contributions to Shakespeare knowledge are by no means inconsiderable. Of these pamphlets the first is the largest and the most important. The *Remarks* contains practically all of the notes that were of real value. *Quip Modest* and *Cursory Criticisms* have few new notes and are mainly taken up with a reconsideration of those already presented. Some of them were decidedly worth defending; others were unhandsomely revived by a sensitive author whose feelings occasionally overpowered his judgment.

Before considering in detail Ritson's specific contributions to Shakespearean knowledge, it will be well to understand his canons of criticism. "The chief and fundamental business of an editor", he declared at the outstart, "is carefully to collate the original and authentic editions of his author." Although all the editors, from Rowe to Malone, professed to have collated the old editions, Ritson maintained that no one of them had performed this task conscientiously, that they had not even compared the two first folios, "books indifferently common and quoted by everybody." Theobald

had done more than any one else toward a careful collation of the quartos and folios, and him Ritson adjudged the best of the editors. He quarreled with Steevens for basing his text on the quartos and with Malone for relying on the first folio. Some choice was necessary, he admitted. It was the privilege and the duty of the editor to choose one old text as a basis, but he ought to do this with a full and intimate knowledge of all the others. The folios, he maintained, were more reliable than the quartos, and of the folios the second was superior to the first. He went to great pains to assemble parallel passages from the folios to prove that Malone had, in the majority of cases, chosen the inferior reading. This point he had little difficulty in sustaining. But if Steevens was led into excesses and error by too close reliance on the quartos, and Malone on the first folio, Ritson, in his turn, exhibited the natural editorial tendency by too faithful adherence to his favorite text, the second folio. But Ritson knew both the quartos and the folios better than most of his contemporaries, and from his wider knowledge was able to trace back, with remarkable precision, variant readings to their ultimate sources. He thus took from contemporary editors the honor for many "proposed emendations" and exerted a healthful influence toward more careful textual collation. This influence is especially noticeable in Malone, although his unreasoning preju-

dice against the second folio prevented him from making his text as reliable as it might have been.¹

Eighteenth century editors generally had no exalted conception of the sacredness of an author's text. They deleted, altered, or enlarged wherever they thought necessary, and took no particular pains to distinguish their work from the original. With advanced ideas of editorship, Ritson declared it his belief that an author's text was his own property, sacred and inviolable, and not to be altered in the slightest save by his own hand. The question was never, what *should* an author have written, but what *did* he write? An editor ought never to feel under the necessity of apologizing for his author; he ought simply to give the text as he found it. It was the privilege of every editor to alter the text where he deemed it necessary, but it was also his duty to designate, by some means clearly intelligible to the reader, his alteration as an alteration. On this score Ritson condemned Warton, the editors of Shakespeare, and, most of all, Bishop Percy. Although his personal opinions colored his criticism, yet he stood true to the proper function of an editor in textual matters. Here again he exerted a healthful influence upon his century and hastened the day of "modern" editing.

These were, in a measure, criticisms of Shakespeare's editors, but they reflect the solid basis

¹ Malone assumed an attitude of nonchalance to Ritson, but he confessedly stood in awe of the critic's wrath, and he took special care to let it be known that he had collated diligently the 100,000 lines of Shakespeare's text.

of most of the notes on the poet, especially of those not inspired by purely personal motives. The majority of the valuable notes were acknowledged, however grudgingly, by late eighteenth century editors, but Ritson has been all but lost sight of by modern editors, and the credit for many of his notes has gone to others. Space for but a few notes is available. Most of those selected are given because they are of intrinsic value, a few merely because they are characteristic of the man and the time.

The problem of filling out the metre of certain of Shakespeare's lines was a troublesome one and gave rise to various suggestions by the commentators. To the theory of Tyrwhitt and Steevens that Shakespeare arbitrarily lengthened a word in which *l* or *r* is subjoined to another consonant, and to that of Malone that any "short" line may properly be filled out by making a dissyllable of a convenient monosyllable, Ritson was equally opposed. He immediately diagnosed Malone's case as a "total want of ear", and unmercifully castigated him for tampering with metre.¹ Tyrwhitt's theory he ridiculed as lacking foundation in grammar and orthography. For it he wished to substitute a pet orthographical system of his own—a system based on a study of sixteenth century grammars—which he fondly believed to be the only salvation for our present "thoroughly

¹ Thus anticipating the spirit of the late editor of the *New Variorum Shakespeare*, when he said: "With my latest editorial breath I will denounce these dissyllables devised to supply the place of a pause." *M. N. D.* II, i, 259, note.

corrupted" system of spelling. "Every verb in the English language", he declared, "gains an additional syllable by its termination in *est*, *eth*, *ed*, *ing*, or (when formed into a substantive) in *er*." The fact that Shakespeare did not seem to have been guided by this rule was sufficient reason for its rejection by all save its author. Although silenced, Ritson continued to believe that Shakespeare should be read according to the rules of grammar and orthography which he had propounded.

The knowledge of medieval literature, which stood him in such good stead in his work with the ballads and romances, Ritson used to advantage in criticisms on Shakespeare. He printed, for the first time, a pageant of the Nine Worthies from MS. Tanner, 407, in illustration of *L. L. L.* V. ii. 486. His familiarity with folk-lore enabled him to correct current misconceptions about "other world" creatures. In a long debate on the mortality of fairies (*M. N. D.* II. i. 101.) Ritson had decidedly the better of his opponents. By a wealth of allusion to Shakespeare and his contemporaries, he proved that fairies in general, and Shakespeare's fairies in particular, are immortal. He likewise corrected Johnson's misleading note on "changeling" (*M. N. D.* II. i. 23.) by pointing out that since a fairy was speaking, "changeling" was properly used for the child taken in exchange.

Ritson was a close and accurate student of the early forms of language, and he gave correct glosses to many words that had been misunderstood by

previous commentators. In the following examples, culled at random, he is supported by the *New English Dictionary*, but is not credited in the *New Variorum*.

L. L. L. I. ii. 5. "imp." means graff, slip, scion; and, by metonymy, a boy or child.

Mac. IV. iii. 194. "latch" = catch, from A. S. laeccan.

Rich. III. II. iv. 35. "parlous", a corruption of perilous, dangerous.

Ant. and Cleo. III. vi. 95. "trull", a strumpet.

Cymb. V. ii. 4. "carl", A. S. ceorl, a churl or husbandman.

Ritson honored Dr. Johnson for the sturdy common sense which enabled him to brush away from simple passages the mass of difficult interpretations which more artificial thinkers had placed upon them. But this saving quality was not wholly lacking in his own criticisms. The few examples which follow (and they could be multiplied) have been credited, in the *New Variorum*, to other writers from Ritson's day down to the latter half of the nineteenth century.

M. N. D. II. i. 51. "aunt, in this place at least, certainly means no other than an innocent old woman."

M. of V. III. iv. 72. *Por.* I could not do withal.

"Could a lady of Portia's good sense, high station, and elegant manners, speak (or even think) so grossly? It is impossible. There is no hint of a bawdy or immoral meaning."

Lear IV. ii. 83, *Gon.* One way I like this well.

"Goneril is glad to hear of Cornwall's death, because, by her sisters, now rendered less difficult to compass, she could possess the whole kingdom."

R. and J. II. vi. 14. *Fri. L.* Too swift arrives as tardy as too slow.

"Alluding to the vulgar proverb: The more haste the worse speed."

R. and J. III. ii. 113. *Jul.* That "banished", that one word "banished", Hath slain ten thousand Tybalts.

"I am more affected by Romeo's banishment than I should be by the death of ten thousand such relations as Tybalt."

Ham. II. ii. 185. *Ham.* Conception is a blessing, but not as your daughter may conceive.

"Conception (understanding), says Hamlet, is a blessing, but the conception (pregnancy) of your daughter would not be one."

It must be recognized that Ritson's forte was in the minutiae of criticism. He had a knowledge of details and an acquaintance with the sources of Shakespeare material that would have done credit to any commentator. He was not, however, devoid of a sympathetic appreciation of Shakespeare's characters or of each play as a whole. His notes are interspersed with happy bits of criticism which reveal a soul responsive to the appeal of poetry. Yet it was unfortunate that he seemed to require the stimulus of a judgment with which he did not agree in order to produce his own estimate. As a result, his remarks frequently took on the nature of rebuttal, and because of their controversial flavor, their sincerity was often questioned. The most brilliant example of Ritson's ability in the larger sweep of interpretation is his review of *Hamlet* in answer to the irreverent and unappreciative construction given by Steevens. It is too long for quotation here, and must be left to be read in the *Remarks*, pp. 215-224, or, in part, in the second volume of the New Variorum *Hamlet*.

Although Ritson's published volumes place him among Grey, Collins, Farmer, Tyrwhitt, and the other authors of detached pieces of criticism, yet he hoped to be ranked with Theobald, Johnson,

Steevens, Reed, and Malone as an editor of Shakespeare. He long cherished the ambition to leave as a symbol of devotion a complete edition of "the god of his idolatry". At least as early as 1782 he had formed the design, but it was not announced to the public until April 18, 1783. At that time there appeared on the last page of the *Remarks* a prospectus for "An edition of the plays of William Shakspeare, with notes, *preparing for the press*." The edition was to comprise eight duodecimo volumes; the text was to be "carefully and accurately printed from the only copies of real authority, the two first folios", with painstaking collation of the old quartos and an accurate statement of all variations adopted; doubtful readings were to be settled "from an attentive examination of the sentiments of every commentator"; notes were to be introduced only where they seemed absolutely necessary; the author's life and the prefaces of his various editors were to be prefixed, and an accurate glossary added; and an extra volume was to contain "a complete verbal index." This edition was to be, with regard to the correctness of the text, "infinitely superior to any that has yet appeared"; it was to possess all "the advantages of every former edition, and be as little liable as possible to the defects of any."

Coming as it did upon the heels of his captious attack upon Johnson and Steevens, this announcement appeared as a challenge to Shakespeare scholars. But had Ritson had the hardihood to publish at this time, he could not have met with

success. When such a brilliant galaxy of commentators and editors as Johnson, Steevens, Tyrwhitt, Farmer, Reed, and Malone possessed the ear of the booksellers and the confidence of the public, an edition of Shakespeare by an antiquary who was minutely accurate in details, who held advanced notions of the functions of an editor and critic, who was uncompromising in praise and blame alike, who was, above all, pugnacious and controversial,—an edition by such an one would have met with scant approval in most quarters and with open rejection in many. Ritson sensed the situation accurately. On February 1, 1788, in the preface to *Quip Modest*, he replied thus to the enquiries that had been made concerning his edition: "In truth, the attention requisite to the publication of so voluminous a work, and the little likelihood there is of its being productive to the undertaker of anything but trouble and expense, together with other causes of less consequence, have hitherto deterred me from putting it to press. But I have neither laid aside all thoughts of bringing it forward, nor can I pledge myself to produce it in any given time. I have little reason to suppose that the Public interests itself at all in the matter, and therefore think myself at full liberty to suit my own inclination and convenience."

Following this pronunciamento he made enough effort to put two pages of *Comedy of Errors* to the press. Here the matter rested, although it is certain that he did not for some years give up his

notion of eventually perfecting his edition, and perhaps never entirely relinquished it. To the indifference of the public, which he felt keenly, was soon added physical illness which materially lessened the amount of his literary labor. In the middle of 1790 he wrote to Joseph Cooper Walker, the Irish antiquary: "I know not whether I shall ever have resolution enough to put an edition of this favorite author into the press, as the public will for some time be completely glutted with editions of one kind or another." Two years later he was still gathering material and declared that he had yet "some intention of printing an edition of Shakspeare."

Indeed he was, throughout life, making notes, exchanging suggestions with friends, and amassing material for an edition of the dramatist. Although only the three pamphlets already reviewed were published, yet much more was prepared. The catalogue of the sale of Ritson's library records the ten volumes of the Johnson and Steevens *Shakspeare* and the four volumes of *Shakspeare's Twenty Plays*, by Steevens, as "filled with MS. notes and comments by Mr. Ritson." In addition, there were three volumes of manuscript material "prepared by Mr. Ritson for the press, intending to publish it."

With the exception of twenty-three pages of variant readings,¹ all this material—the painstaking

¹ These pages, now in the possession of Mr. Marsden J. Perry, of Providence, contain 159 parallel passages from the two first folios. Seventeen of them were printed in the Introduction to *Cursory Criticisms*.

ing accumulation of a lifetime—has disappeared from view. Had he published his material in final form, Ritson's edition of Shakespeare would undoubtedly have compared favorably with any of his century. He had a knowledge of the quartos and folios not surpassed by any of his contemporaries, and a capacity for taking pains not equalled by any. He had a better ear than Malone, more reverence for his author than Steevens, and a finer critical insight than Reed.¹ He would have laid under tribute a vast knowledge of medieval literature and a wide acquaintance with the English language in its early forms. His glossary and verbal index would probably have been the most valuable parts of his edition, for he had long complained of Ayscough's *Index*, and he had consistently corrected the glosses of previous editions. The most likely fault of his work would have been the outcropping of the acidity of his nature in personal abuse of fellow editors. But this is speculation. Unless the lost manuscripts are by good fortune discovered, Ritson's fame as a Shakespeare commentator must rest upon the *Remarks*, *Quip Modest*, and *Cursory Criticisms*. Making due allowance for an unhappy manner, this reputation is by no means the least of the eighteenth century.

¹ William Henry Ireland, in his *Confessions*, p. 227, paid eloquent tribute to "the piercing eye and silent scrutiny of Mr. Ritson," who was not to be hoodwinked by the spurious Shakespeare papers on display in Norfolk street.

CHARLES LAMB AND SHAKESPEARE

By Frederick W. Roe.

One of Lamb's school fellows at Christ's Hospital, Valentine Le Grice, in some reminiscences contributed in 1838 to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, said of his friend's humor that "it smacked rarely of antiquity; he loved the old playwrights dearly, and the name of Bankside". To speak with exactness Lamb did not belong to his own time. His true coevals were the men "of antiquity",—Shakespeare and Ford, Browne and Burton. "When a new book comes out", said he, "I read an old one". His book-shelves were carefully guarded against the invasion of new-comers by rows of "ragged veterans" belonging to a former age,—“my midnight darlings, my folios”, he called them, with all the ecstasy of a bibliophile. Isaac Walton was the delight of his childhood; and his last letter, written less than a week before his death, has to do with a book that he had recently borrowed and that was returned after he had died “with the leaf folded down at the account of Sir Philip Sidney”. “The sweetest names, and which carry a perfume in the mention”, he wrote in a well-remembered essay, “are Kit Marlowe, Drayton, Drummond of Hawthornden, and Cowley”. “He

would deliver critical touches on these (the old writers) like one inspired", declared Wainewright, one of Lamb's co-contributors to the *London Magazine*, for which the essays of Elia were written.

Among these old time favorites whom he worshipped, his household gods were the dramatists. His devotion to them was the literary passion of a life-time, much intensified by an inveterate delight in the theatre. For who has written of actors and acting with more charm and intimacy than Elia? Who, with more intuitive appreciation of the art of the stage? "I was always fond of the society of players", he writes in *Barbara S-----*, "and am not sure that an impediment in my speech (which certainly kept me out of the pulpit) even more than certain personal disqualifications, which are often got over in that profession, did not prevent me at one time of life from adopting it". A fine instance of Lamb's early saturation with the old playwrights is his tragedy *John Woodvil*, written before he was twenty-five. It is deliberately Elizabethan, and is rich in the diction and cadence of the drama of that glowing time. Those who have read it will remember Hazlitt's story of how Godwin, hearing a friend quote the passage beginning with the lines,

"To see the sun to bed, and to arise,
Like some hot amourist with glowing eyes",—

was so struck with its beauty and "with a consciousness of having seen it before", that after a

vain hunt for it in Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher, he asked Lamb if "he could help him to the author". It was not until the publication of his *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets*, in 1808, however, that his reputation as a student and critic of the elder drama was established. He was justly proud of what this book accomplished, and in 1827 when he wrote a brief autobiographical record at the request of a friend, he concluded with the words: "He also was the first to draw the public attention to the old English Dramatists". Nor was his love the passion of youth alone, for in 1826, the year following his retirement from the clerkship at the India House he began to make extracts from the Garrick collection of plays at the British Museum, for Hone's *Table Book*, and he read hundreds of old dramas with undiminished appetite. "Imagine the luxury", he writes in his prefatorial letter to Editor Hone, "to one like me, who, above every other form of Poetry, have ever preferred the Dramatic, of sitting in the princely apartments,—and culling at will the flower of some thousand Dramas."

But Lamb could not have loved "these bountiful Wits" of the Shakespearean age so much, if he had not loved Shakespeare more. One of his purposes in collecting the '*Specimens*,' he declared, was to show "how much of Shakespeare shines in the great men his contemporaries, and how far in his divine mind and manners he surpassed them and all mankind". Whim, or love of paradox, or transient conviction might sometimes pro-

voke him to pronounce in favor of Browne, Fuller, Sidney, or the Duchess of Newcastle as against even Shakespeare, for he cherished no literary consistencies and defended no dogmas; but who that has read his *Elia* will deny that the poet whom he knew best, quoted oftenest, cared most for, and wrote best about was the master-dramatist himself? "The plays of Shakespeare", he said, "have been the strongest and the sweetest food of my mind from infancy". "Shakespeare is one of the last books one should like to give up", he wrote to Wordsworth, "perhaps the one just before the Dying Service in a large Prayer Book". There is little of his prose that does not carry with it some image or reminiscence, however faint, from this or that well-loved play. The *Tales*, in which Lamb deliberately adapted the language of their originals, are miracles of old felicitous diction and Shakespearean cadence. The *Essays*, besides the frequent happy quotations and direct borrowings, are full of remoter suggestions,—some quaint phrase or grave sentiment,—as though the music of Shakespeare's words and thoughts were forever vibrating in his memory!¹ Certain names, even, seem to have exercised a kind of charm such as other men do not, or cannot, feel! The Forest

¹ In the *Essays* and *Last Essays* there are allusions or quotations from twenty-seven different plays (reckoning largely on the basis of Mr. Lucas's annotations). These are found in thirty-eight out of fifty-one essays; that is to say, they are distributed through almost exactly three-fourths of the total number. These figures alone, however, do not signify much. My impression (I have made no estimates) is that Hazlitt alludes to or quotes from Shakespeare at least as often as Lamb: so, too, does Ruskin, to cite a later example. But do the writings of these men suggest the same *intimacy* with Shakespeare that those of Lamb do?

of Arden, the Court of Illyria, the haunted heath of the Witches, or the storm-swept waste of Lear were potent of themselves to transport him from the drudgery and sorrow of a too-real world! The spirit in which Lamb seems always to have regarded his Shakespeare and by means of which he came to possess that "modest Shakespearean wisdom", which Leigh Hunt thought to be the essential charm of his nature, is nowhere else so well suggested as in the closing sentence of the preface to the *Tales*: "What these Tales have been to you in childhood, that and much more it is my wish that the true plays of Shakespeare may prove to you in older years—enrichers of the fancy, strengtheners of virtue, a withdrawing from all selfish and mercenary thoughts, a lesson of all sweet and honourable thoughts and actions, to teach you courtesy, generosity, humanity: for of examples, teaching these virtues, his pages are full".

The fruit of this exquisite spirit of appreciation, however fine and rare in quality, is unfortunately not abundant. "The damn'd Day-hag Business" allowed but brief intervals through a life-time for its cultivation. "A prisoner to the desk" for thirty and more years, Lamb was—to use his own phrase—"an author by fits". There are, first, the *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807), forever associated with the names of Charles and Mary Lamb, of which, as he tells Wordsworth, he is responsible for "Lear, Macbeth, Timon, Romeo, Hamlet, Othello, and for occasionally a tail piece or correction of gram-

mar, for none of the cuts and all of the spelling". The mature reader of Shakespeare who returns to these incomparable companions of childhood is delighted to find in them so many proofs of Lamb's insight and sound judgment. There are, next, the *Specimens* (1808), with their brief, luminous notes containing here and there a reference to Shakespeare by way of comparison or contrast. There are, also, three or four essays of importance on actors and acting—chiefly *Old Actors* (1822) and *G. F. Cooke in Richard III* (1802). And finally there is the splendid contribution to Leigh Hunt's *Reflector, On the Tragedies of Shakespeare* (1812),—one of the pieces that belongs to the poetry of criticism.

To try to dignify these things by calling them a body of criticism or by suggesting that they reflect an attempt on the part of the critic to estimate Shakespeare constructively would be absurd. Lamb was not qualified either by knowledge or by temper for such work. Nowhere does he so much as hint at an interest in the problems of Shakespearean scholarship,—problems of date, authorship, dramatic construction, and text. "You must be content", he says in his prefatorial letter to Editor Hone, writing of the extracts from the Garrick plays, "with sometimes a scene, sometimes a song; a speech or a passage, or a poetical image, as they happen to strike me. I read without order of time; I am a poor hand at dates; and for any biography of the Dramatists, I must refer to writers who are more skilful in such mat-

ters. My business is with their poetry only". He read his Shakespeare, as he read his Sidney, for "the noble images, passions, sentiments, and poetical delicacies of character". Some of Lamb's best appreciations, therefore, are incidental or almost casual, as, for example, the following descriptions of actors: Kemble,—“the playful court-bred spirit in which he condescended to the players in *Hamlet*”,—“the sportive relief which he threw into the darker shades” of Richard III; Palmer in Sir Toby,—“there is a solidity of wit in the jests of that half-Falstaff which he did not quite fill out”. Or, again, in the noble closing to the tale of *Timon*: “Whether he finished his life by violence, or whether mere distaste of life and the loathing he had for mankind brought Timon to his conclusion, was not clear, yet all men admired the fitness of his epitaph, and the consistency of his end; dying, as he had lived, a hater of mankind: and some there were who fancied a conceit in the very choice which he had made of the sea-beach for his place of burial, where the vast sea might weep for ever upon his grave, as in contempt of the transient and shallow tears of hypocritical and deceitful mankind.” It was a concluding sentence from another tale, *Romeo and Juliet*,—“So did these poor old lords, when it was too late, strive to outgo each other in mutual courtesies”,—that evoked from Canon Ainger, for so many years the foremost editor and biographer of Elia, the enthusiastic comment: “The melancholy of the whole story—the ‘pity of it,’—the

'one long sigh' which Schlegel heard in it, is conveyed with an almost magic suddenness in this single touch; with yet one touch more, and that of priceless importance—the suggestion of the whole world of misery and disorder that may lie hidden as an awful possibility in the tempers and vanities of even two 'poor old' heads of houses". Again: "Who sees not that the Grave-digger in *Hamlet*, the Fool in *Lear*, have a kind of correspondency to, and fall in with, the subjects which they seem to interrupt?" And finally a passage in the essay on the *Sanity of True Genius*: "It is impossible for a mind to conceive of a mad Shakespeare Where he seems most to recede from humanity, he will be found truest to it. From beyond the scope of Nature if he summon possible existences, he subjugates them to the laws of her consistency. . . Caliban, the Witches, are as true to the laws of their own nature (ours with a difference), as Othello, Hamlet, and Macbeth". It is the sympathy and insight conveyed in such passages as these, supported by a sturdy independence of judgment, rather than any professional expertness, that has placed Lamb securely in the select company of Shakespeare's best critics. Hazlitt, who dedicated his *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays* to Lamb, and who pays him the tribute of frequent quotation, thought that "he had written better about Shakespeare than anybody else". Swinburne, with characteristic exuberance of superlative, calls Lamb "the most supremely competent judge and exquisite critic of lyrical and dramatic

art that we have ever had". And Professor Bradley who refers to him several times, begins a sentence in one of his lectures on *Lear* with these words: "Lamb—there is no higher authority".

Probably no judgment of Lamb's is better known than the one which forms the subject of the only deliberately critical study of Shakespeare that he ever wrote,—the opinion in the essay on the '*Tragedies*', that "the plays of Shakespeare are less calculated for performance on a stage, than those of almost any other dramatist whatever". What an astonishing paradox from a veteran play-goer, who seems never to have missed a first-night, in the days when Shakespearean parts were played by Kemble, the Keans, and Mrs. Siddons! But let him be heard further: "Such is the instantaneous nature of the impressions which we take in at the eye and ear at a play-house, compared with the slow apprehension oftentimes of the understanding in reading, that we are apt not only to sink the play-writer in the consideration which we pay to the actor, but even to identify in our minds in a perverse manner, the actor with the character which he represents. . . . When the novelty is past, we find to our cost that instead of realizing an idea, we have only materialized and brought down a fine vision to the standards of flesh and blood. We have let go a dream, in quest of an unattainable substance. . . . All those delicacies which are so delightful in the reading. . . . how are these things sullied and turned from their very nature by being exposed to a large assembly. . . . Attempt to

bring these beings [the Witches] on to a stage, and you turn them instantly into so many old women, that men and children are to laugh at It is the solitary taper and the book that generates a faith in these terrors. Spirits and fairies cannot be represented, they cannot even be painted,—they can only be believed The truth is, the characters of Shakespeare are so much the objects of meditation rather than of interest or curiosity as to their action, that while we are reading any of his great criminal characters,—Macbeth, Richard, or Iago,—we think not so much of the crimes which they commit, as of the ambition, the aspiring spirit, the intellectual activity, which prompts them to overleap those moral fences”. If these brilliant sentences are paradoxical, they are neither absurd nor insincere; nor, be it said, do they advance a position held by Lamb alone among good judges.

His objections to the acted drama of Shakespeare are two: that actors and the stage come between us and our ideals of the tragedy, grossly materializing them; and that Shakespeare's conceptions are really beyond the reach of the actor's art. Lamb cannot overlook the difference between the tragedy as *poetry* and the tragedy as a *play*. All the rhetoric and the declamation (of which there was much in his day), all the stage-business and by-play, all the “scenery, dress, the most contemptible things”, only take away Shakespeare's pre-eminence and bring him down to the level of ordinary playwrights. To persons of Lamb's

susceptible imagination, moreover, the materialization upon the stage of certain scenes is too painful to endure; such, for example, as the murder scene in *Macbeth* or the storm scene in *Lear*, where there is a "too close pressing semblance of reality". He is, of course, indifferent to matters that were of first importance to Shakespeare, who wrote for the stage and whose immediate success depended tremendously upon his power as a dramatist and hardly at all upon his power as a poet. In the unfolding of plot and sub-plot, in the *action* (as distinguished from the motive and the result of action), in countless superb stage effects,—openings, crises, surprises, sequences,—Lamb seems to have no interest to be compared with his interest in the tragedies regarded as poetry. A tragedy of Shakespeare is a "fine vision", with innumerable solemn overtones audible to the inner ear only. It cannot be justly appreciated on the stage, where the senses usurp the place of the imagination; it is to be reserved for the quiet hour and the "solitary taper", when the imagination by triumphing over the senses may prepare the soul for the full effect of sublime poetry.¹

¹ Lamb declared at the end of his essay that "it would be no very difficult task to extend the inquiry to his comedies; and to show why Falstaff, Shallow, Sir Hugh Evans, and the rest, are equally incompatible with stage representation". It is a loss to criticism that he did not undertake an essay on the comedies, for he would have written inimitably on the great comic characters of Shakespeare. But could he have made his case anything like as convincing? Even first-rate acting takes something from great tragedy, whereas it nearly always *adds* to the effect of comedy.

It is clear, then, that Lamb will be found at his best in the appreciation of single characters, and of the *hold* which individual scenes and situations have upon the imagination. Some of his estimates are themselves the poetry of criticism. They seem to be lighted up by a fire from within, subdued, but always glowing and warm; for they convey that delightful impression of intimacy which we have known and loved in Elia. Take, as a first instance, a character not much noticed by Coleridge and Hazlitt,—Malvolio, in the essay on *Old Actors*: “Malvolio is not essentially ludicrous. He becomes comic by accident. He is cold, austere, repelling; but dignified, consistent, and for what appears, rather of an over-stretched morality. Maria describes him as a sort of Puritan; and he might have worn his gold chain with honour in one of our old round-head families, in the service of a Lambert, or a Lady Fairfax. But his morality and his manners are misplaced in Illyria. He is opposed to the proper *levities* of the piece. . . . His quality is at best unlovely, but neither buffoon nor contemptible. . . . His dialect on all occasions is that of a gentleman, and a man of education. We must not confound him with the eternal old, low steward of comedy”, etc. The passage is too long to quote in full, but Lamb proves his contention that in essentials Malvolio is neither a joke nor a butt, and that he is not so regarded by Olivia and the Duke, people who should know. But he is not at home in Illyria, where he must always appear in contrast

with those true citizens of that country,—Sir Toby, Sir Andrew, Maria and the Clown! Lamb is indeed a little too kind toward the steward, perhaps for the reason that Shakespeare seems a trifle too unsympathetic by putting him so much at the mercy of that mad crew of midnight revellers. “I confess”, Lamb says, “that I never saw the catastrophe of this character, while Bensley played it, without a kind of tragic interest”. Two other parts in *Twelfth Night*, Sir Andrew and the Clown, as performed by the actors Dodd and Dicky Suett are described in passages of miraculous grace and subtlety. What words outside the play itself better correspond with the reader’s sense of the complacent asininity of Sir Andrew—prototype of ignoramuses!—than these: “In expressing slowness of apprehension this actor surpassed all others. You could see the first dawn of an idea stealing slowly over his countenance, climbing up by little and little, with a painful process, till it cleared up at last to the fulness of a twilight conception—its highest meridian. He seemed to keep back his intellect, as some have had the power to retard their pulsation. The balloon takes less time in filling, than it took to cover the expansion of his broad moony face over all its quarters with expression. A glimmer of understanding would appear in a corner of his eye, and for lack of fuel go out again. A part of his forehead would catch a little intelligence, and be a long time in communicating it to the remainder”. What a poignant sympathy with the comic

spirit of Shakespeare is conveyed in the account of Dicky Suett, who played the clown parts!—"Care, that troubles all the world, was forgotten in his composition. Had he had but two grains (nay, half a grain) of it, he could never have supported himself upon those two spider's strings, which served him (in the latter part of his unmixed existence) as legs. A doubt or a scruple must have made him totter, a sigh have puffed him down; the weight of a frown had staggered him, a wrinkle made him lose his balance. But on he went, scrambling upon those airy stilts of his, with Robin Goodfellow, 'thorough brake, thorough briar', reckless of a scratched face or a torn doublet. Shakespeare foresaw him, when he framed his fools and jesters. They have all the true Suett stamp, a loose and shambling gait, a slippery tongue, this last the ready midwife to a without-pain-delivered jest; in words, light as air, venting truths deep as the centre; with idlest rhymes tagging conceit when busiest, singing with Lear in the tempest, or Sir Toby at the buttery-hatch".

Clearly we should have had from Lamb that essay on the comic characters of Shakespeare, which he thought it would have been "no very difficult task to write". Nevertheless the serious mood was the prevailing one, and interest in the tragedies undoubtedly was first. He saw George Frederick Cooke in *Richard III*, on his first appearance in that character in 1801, and wrote an account of his impressions in the *Morning Post* in a paper which he did not re-publish. But he

refers to Cooke's Richard later in the *Tragedies*. and again in a letter to Southey. All three accounts agree. Cooke appeared in the famous Cibber version of Richard, which held the stage from 1700 to 1821, when Macready made an unsuccessful attempt to restore the original to the boards. In this stage version, especially as rendered by Cooke, the physical and moral deformities of the character are accentuated much beyond Shakespeare's intention, and the king is made a monster instead of a man. Lamb is the first critic of note to protest against such a rendering of the part—Hazlitt following some sixteen years later.¹ The protest is really a vigorous condemnation of the traditional eighteenth century view. "The hypocrisy", he says, "is too glaring and visible You despise, detest, and loathe the cunning, vulgar, low and fierce Richard which Cooke substitutes Not one of the spectators who have witnessed Mr. C's exertions in that part, but has come away with a proper conviction that Richard is a very wicked man, and kills little children in their beds Is not the original Richard a very different being? Is this the impression we have in reading the Richard of Shakespeare? Do we feel anything like disgust, as we do at that butcher-like representation of him that passes for him on the stage? A horror at his

¹ Hazlitt says: "Some of the most important and striking passages in the principal character have been omitted, to make room for idle and misplaced extracts from other plays; the only intention of which seems to have been to make the character of Richard as odious and disgusting as possible".

crimes blends with the effect which we feel, but how is it qualified, how is it carried off, by the rich intellect which he displays, his resources, his wit, his buoyant spirits, his vast knowledge and insight into characters, the poetry of his part". In partial support of this interpretation Lamb cites "that *fine address* which . . . betrayed the heart of Lady Anne and imposed upon the duller wits of the Lord Mayor and Citizens", and, further, the king's "most exquisite address to the Widowed Queen to court her daughter for him". Miss Wood, in her *Stage History of Shakespeare's King Richard the Third*, in a summary of her researches says: "The nineteenth century we have seen developing the subtler side of Richard's villainy, dwelling upon motives, recalling his kingly characteristics, and producing a hero of decidedly more thoughtful nature". This corresponds with the conception that Lamb pleaded for in the first year of the century.

Nearly everything of critical importance that he has to say upon *Macbeth* is concerned with the Witches. In a note in the *Specimens*, at the end of his selections from Middleton's *Witch*, he contrasts Middleton's creations with Shakespeare's, and in the *Tragedies* he contends that the Weird Sisters are too terrible for stage representation. Middleton's witches are the vulgar and grotesque mischief-makers of popular tradition, while Shakespeare's "originate deeds of blood, and begin bad

impulses to men.¹ They are foul Anomalies The Weird Sisters are serious things. Their presence cannot co-exist with mirth When we read the incantations of those terrible beings, though some of the ingredients their hellish composition savour of the grotesque, yet is the effect upon us other than the most serious and appalling that can be imagined? Attempt to bring these beings on to the stage, and you turn them instantly into so many old women, that men and children are to laugh at". When Lamb gave expression to these opinions (1808 and 1811), Davenant's version of *Macbeth* — a melodramatic rendering in which the Weird Sisters were represented as "singing witches—pretty women, arranged in fantastic, comic attire",—had been the most popular stage version for longer than a century; it was used by Kemble *after* Garrick's time. Even Garrick, who in 1744 announced a production of *Macbeth* "as written by Shakespeare", staged the Witches very much after the traditional manner. It was Edmund Kean who attempted to restore them to their original power and place, in his performance of *Macbeth* at Drury Lane in 1814. We should like to believe that Kean was working here under the influence of Lamb, as we know that he was later in his production of

¹ Lamb's thought is not sufficiently clear. Does he mean the Witches force action upon Macbeth, or only that they *prompt* action? The latter seems the right view. Professor Bradley says: "There is no sign whatever in the play that Shakespeare meant the actions of Macbeth to be forced on him by an external power".

King Lear. Be that as it may, Lamb's view is the one which has prevailed since that time.¹

The eternal mystery of *Hamlet* offered a fairer field for the play of Lamb's critical faculties; and nothing, I think, in his treatment of Shakespeare furnishes a better proof of sound judgment and fine intuition than his interpretations of the three major problems in this tragedy: Hamlet's relations with Ophelia, his assumption of madness, and the reasons for his indecision and delay.² Every student of Hamlet's character has been puzzled to account for "that asperity which he puts on in his interviews with Ophelia", and for his persistent neglect of her after the first act. Very good critics have arrived at very contradictory conclusions. The view that has found most adherents, perhaps, is the sentimental one,—that Hamlet, after the ghost comes, turns bewilderingly to Ophelia for support and is shocked to find in her only a decoy for her father and the king. His cruelty, therefore, is the cruelty of wounded idealism. Lamb's interpretation will not satisfy the sentimental idealists, but it will account for more of the facts.³ "The melancholy which he

¹ Compare three other opinions. "Their character consists in the imaginative disconnected with the good; they are the shadowy obscure and fearfully anomalous of physical nature, the lawless of human nature,—elemental avengers without sex or kin" (Coleridge, 1818); "We can conceive no one to play Macbeth properly, or to look like a man that had encountered the Weird Sisters" (Hazlitt, 1817); The witch scenes, "like the Storm scenes in *King Lear*, belong properly to the world of imagination" (Bradley, 1904).

² Much of the critical appreciation of Hamlet is in the *Tales!*

³ No single theory will unravel the tangle of the Hamlet-Ophelia problem. It is not at all unlikely that Shakespeare found himself tempted to make too much of this situation, and broke off abruptly for the sound

fell into", he says, "made him neglect her, and from the time he conceived the project of counterfeiting madness, he affected to treat her with unkindness, and a sort of rudeness The rough business which Hamlet had in hand, the revenging of his father's death upon his murderer, did not suit with the playful state of courtship, or admit of the society of so idle a passion as love now seemed to him". That is to say, Hamlet's conduct toward Ophelia is for the most part due to artifice combined with melancholy, and to artifice even more than to melancholy. I say "for the most part" deliberately, because Lamb never doubts that Hamlet genuinely loves Ophelia, and that, even in the scenes following the first act, his affection is a factor in his attitude toward her.

As to the second of the questions—the reason for Hamlet's assumed madness, a question which Dr. Johnson confessed that he could not answer, and which Coleridge and Hazlitt at least did not consider, it is enough to quote from the account in the *Tales* what is, I think, at once the clearest and most satisfying statement of the case ever submitted. "The terror which the sight of the ghost had left upon the senses of Hamlet, he being weak and dispirited before, almost unhinged his mind, and drove him beside his reason. And he, fearing that it would continue to have this effect, which might subject him to observation, and set

reason suggested by Coleridge: "To have kept Hamlet's love for Ophelia before the audience in any direct form, would have made a breach in the unity of interest".

his uncle upon his guard, if he suspected that he was meditating any thing against him, or that Hamlet really knew more of his father's death than he professed, took up a strange resolution from that time to counterfeit as if he were really and truly mad; thinking that he would be less an object of suspicion when his uncle should believe him incapable of any serious project, and that his real perturbation of mind would be best covered and pass concealed under a disguise of pretended lunacy."

The third of the problems is the crux of the tragedy,—the cause of Hamlet's indecision and delay. The theory that held the field for upwards of a century is the Schlegel-Coleridge theory, best stated by Hazlitt: Hamlet's "ruling passion", he says, "is to think, not to act". Then came Professor Bradley in 1904 with a brilliant and convincing refutation of this theory, and with another theory of his own which has been favorably received everywhere, by reason of its extraordinary insight into the character of Hamlet. The cause of Hamlet's irresolution and procrastination, he says, is an abnormal state of melancholy, "induced by special circumstances", in a mind already of "exquisite moral sensibility", "intellectual genius", and a special temperament. If the reader will now turn to Lamb's story of Hamlet in the *Tales*, published almost exactly a century before, he will find there the essentials of Professor Bradley's interpretation,—without, of course, Professor Bradley's fullness of analysis. Before the mur-

der Hamlet is assumed to have been normal; after it, his refined and courtly nature was tormented by grief, shame, and suspicion, until it "was overclouded with a deep melancholy" and world-weariness. "His very melancholy, and the dejection of spirits he had so long been in, produced an irresoluteness and wavering of purpose, which kept him from proceeding to extremities". Nothing that Lamb has written more surely authenticates his genius for criticism than these quiet lucid sentences in a narrative intended for children.

But the place of honor belongs to the splendid appreciation of *Lear*.¹ In its original form this tragedy is to Lamb "the most stupendous of the Shakespearean dramas", and the character of Kent "the noblest pattern of virtue which even Shakespeare has conceived". Cordelia's "good deeds", he says, "did seem to deserve a more fortunate conclusion: but it is an awful truth, that innocence and piety are not always successful in this world". To change all this, as Tate did in his notorious version which held the stage from

¹ I pass by *Othello*, because there is little direct criticism except upon one matter,—Desdemona's marriage to a *black*. Professor Bradley, after making the point that Lamb, though he goes ahead of Coleridge in accepting a black Othello, yet appears to think Desdemona "to stand in need of excuse", when he says that "this noble lady,—with a singularity rather to be admired than imitated, had chosen for the object of her affections a Moor, a black",—Professor Bradley asks: "What is there in the play to show that Shakespeare regarded her marriage differently from Imogen's?" There is enough in the drama to indicate that Shakespeare regarded Desdemona's marriage as so unusual as to stand in need of some explanation,—I do not say "excuse". Can one say the same of Imogen's marriage? Lamb would thus seem to be nearer to Shakespeare than Dr. Bradley. (He thought the "courtship and wedded caresses of Othello and Desdemona" "extremely revolting" on the stage).

1681 to 1823 (when Edmund Kean restored the original last scene "stimulated by Hazlitt's remonstrances and Charles Lamb's essays"),—to take out the Fool, to put in a love-affair, and to introduce a happy ending, by giving the throne to Cordelia and Edgar and by leaving Lear and Kent to close their days in retirement,—to do this in a vain effort to show what cannot be shown was to Lamb merely monstrous. The magnificent appeal of *Lear* is to the imagination, not to the senses. It is the defense of this thesis that evokes from him that superbly lyrical appreciation of the central power of the tragedy,—at once the summit of Lamb's performance as a critic of Shakespeare and one of the great things in English literary criticism:

"To see Lear acted,—to see an old man tottering about the stage with a walking-stick, turned out of doors by his daughters in a rainy night, has nothing in it but what is painful and disgusting. We want to take him into shelter and relieve him. That is all the feeling which the acting of Lear ever produced in me. But the Lear of Shakespeare cannot be acted. The contemptible machinery by which they mimic the storm which he goes out in, is not more inadequate to represent the horrors of the real elements, than any actor can be to represent Lear; they might more easily propose to personate the Satan of Milton upon a stage, or one of Michael Angelo's terrible figures. The greatness of Lear is not in corporal dimension, but in intellectual: the explosions of his passion are terrible as a volcano: they are storms turning up and disclosing to the bottom that sea, his mind, with all its vast riches. It is his mind which is laid bare. This case of flesh and blood seems too insignificant to be thought on; even as he himself neglects it. On the stage we see nothing but corporal infirmities and weakness, the impotence of rage; while we read it, we see not Lear, but we are Lear,—we are in his mind, we are sustained by a grandeur which baffles the malice of daughters and storms; in the aberrations of his reason, we

discover a mighty irregular power of reasoning, immethodized from the ordinary purposes of life, but exerting its powers, as the wind blows where it listeth, at will upon the corruptions and abuses of mankind. What have looks, or tones, to do with that sublime identification of his age with that of the heavens themselves, when in his reproaches to them for conniving at the injustice of his children, he reminds them that 'they themselves are old'. What gesture shall we appropriate to this? What has the voice or the eye to do with such things? A happy ending!—as if the living martyrdom that Lear had gone through,—the flaying of his feelings alive, did not make a fair dismissal from the stage of life the only decorous thing for him. If he is to live and be happy after, if he could sustain this world's burden after, why all this pudder and preparation,—why torment us with all this unnecessary sympathy? As if the childish pleasure of getting his gilt robes and sceptre again could tempt him to act over again his misused station,—as if at his years, and with his experience, anything was left but to die."

Those who have passed judgment upon Lamb's criticism have not failed—with the exception of Swinburne—to point out its limitations. It has been called "incomplete", "sporadic", without "grasp" or "system". With his usual sagacity in self-analysis and his usual frankness in self-revelation, Lamb anticipated his critics on more than one occasion, but most accurately in a letter to Godwin where he says: "Ten thousand times I have confessed to you, talking of my talents, my utter inability to remember in any comprehensive way what I read. I can vehemently applaud or perversely stickle at *parts*; but I cannot grasp at a whole. This infirmity (which is nothing to brag of) may be seen in my two little compositions, the tale and my play, in both which no reader, however partial, can find any story". Was ever self-judgment fairer? It is not that Lamb cared

little or nothing for certain weighty matters of Shakespearean scholarship. There are critics of the first order whose interest in questions of date, text, authorship, and order of composition of the dramas, has been at least subordinate. Nor is it that he would have been unable to understand the kind of nineteenth century statistical criticism suggested in the remark of Fleay that a critic of Shakespeare needs "a thorough training in the natural sciences . . . and above all in chemical analysis". The real reason why Lamb cannot stand in the first rank of critics is that he is not "comprehensive" and does not "grasp at a whole",—to repeat his words. Comprehension and grasp, in the broad philosophic sense, are the indispensable credentials that admit to the small company of the elect in criticism, and few there are who possess them.

But if insight and intimacy (Mr. Saintsbury prefers the word "saturation"), fine independence and exquisite taste give claim to a place a little below the highest, then Charles Lamb's title is indisputable. Without Coleridge's luminous statement of general principles or Hazlitt's brilliance and enthusiasm in particulars, he seems to approach nearer than either to Shakespeare the man and the poet, and to have the privilege of special intimations of that inexhaustible mind. For we are not to forget that what the quaint and grave Elia cared most to do with his Shakespeare was to draw out the "poetry",—for poetry to him

(to use his own words) was “something to touch the heart, and keep alive the sense of moral beauty; the ‘lacrymae rerum’, and the sorrowing by which the heart is made better”.

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